NOVEMBER 12, 2018

TIME

Beyond Hate

by
Jon Meacham
Nancy Gibbs
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Katie Couric
Deborah Lipstadt

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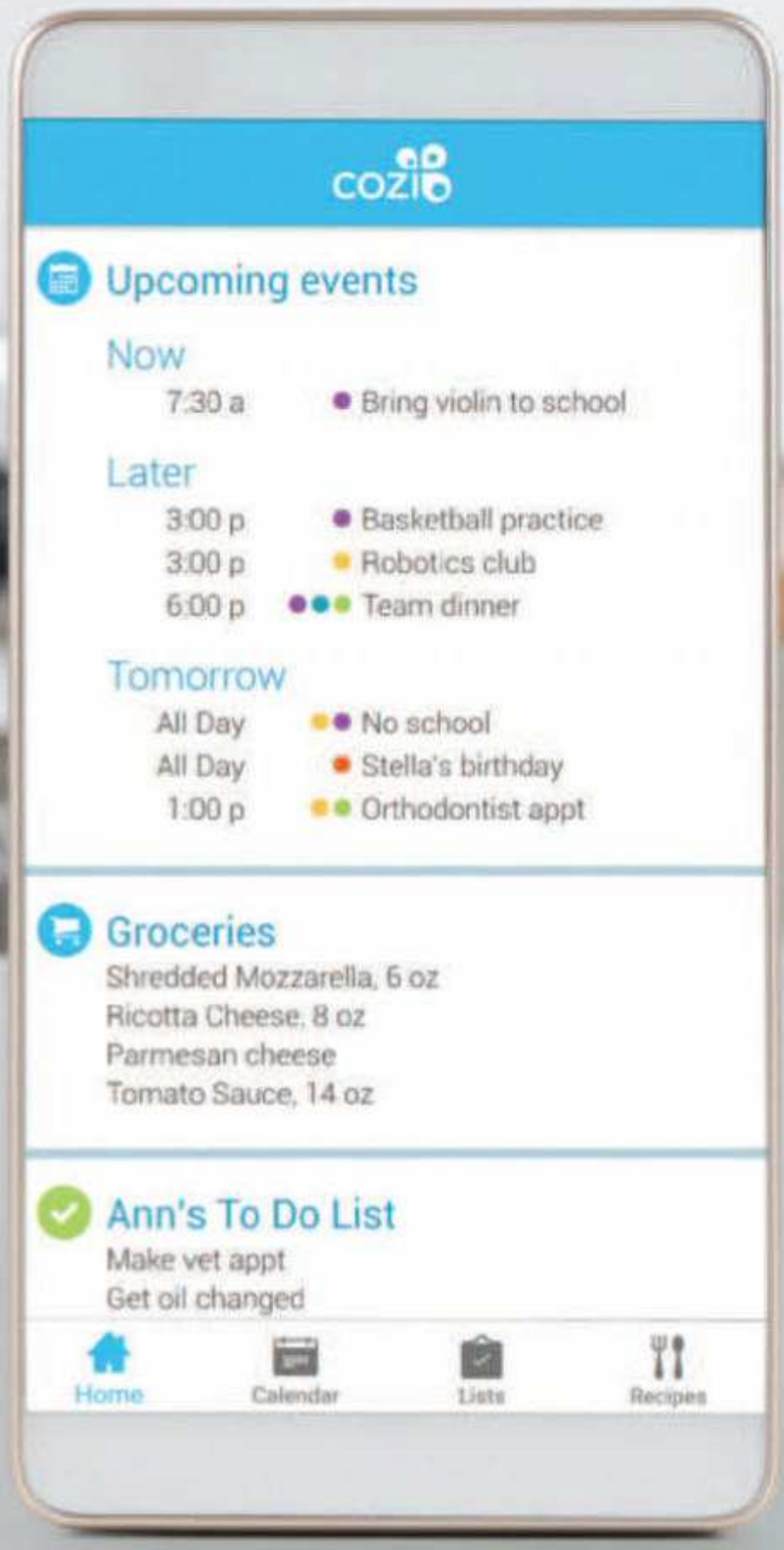

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Bolsonaro supporters celebrate his victory in Rio de Janeiro on Oct. 28

Photograph by Mauro Pimentel—AFP/Getty Images

ON THE COVER: *Illustration by Edel Rodriguez for TIME*

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Grant us peace

WHEN *TIME* AND THE ARTIST JR LAUNCHED OUR INTERactive cover-mural project, Guns in America, on Oct. 25, we could not have predicted the depth of tragedy in the hours to come. The cover was meant, as JR and I put it during a discussion of the project at New York City's Pace Gallery that evening, to be the beginning of a conversation. Barely 36 hours later, in the third massacre in an American house of worship since 2015, a gunman reportedly shouting "All Jews must die" fired into a crowd at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh with an AR-15-style rifle and three handguns. That same weekend, in a haunting protest and memorial, someone painted a blood red "11"—the number of Pittsburgh dead—over a giant version of the mural that JR and his team had pasted on a wall in Manhattan's Lower East Side, home to generations of Jewish immigrants. Rose petals were strewn across the foot of the canvas. It was, JR said, a "conversation on the wall."

The roots of the tree of life—a mystical Jewish image so powerfully rendered by the artist Edel Rodriguez on our cover this week—run deep in America. "Everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid," George Washington wrote, quoting the Bible, in his famous letter to the Jews of Newport, R.I. (lyrics now familiar to everyone who has heard the music to *Hamilton*). An unforgettable memory from my own childhood: Friday nights with my grandparents—German immigrants who cherished their American identity—as a rabbi recited the prayer Grant Us Peace, a loose translation of the Hebrew "Shalom Rav," an organist quietly tapping the melody to "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."

How terribly sad to witness the present vitriol. This is the second time in 14 months that TIME has dedicated an issue to the eruption of hate in America, and also the second time we have turned to Edel to capture it on our cover. This time, it follows what may be the largest attempted assassination of political leaders in American history and the murders of two African Americans in Jeffersontown, Ky., at the hands of a gunman who, police say, first tried to enter a church but found it locked, and the massacre of the 11 Jewish worshippers in Pittsburgh. In Edel's cover illustration, they are 13 fallen stars. One star remains on the tree. Hope.

Shalom Rav.

Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
@EFELSENTHAL

MURAL: ANDRES KUDACKI FOR TIME; WEWORK; BENNETT RAGLIN—GETTY IMAGES FOR TIME

We asked participants in the Guns in America project to react to the week's news. Here's some of what they had to say

"When I first saw the photo of the graffiti on the [Guns in America mural in New York City], I didn't know what had happened. I didn't know someone had sprayed it with the number 11. My eyes saw what I thought was a video about to be played with the 'll' as an overlying red pause button. In many ways the mural project is a pause attempt ... How I wish for a magical 'll' button that could have been pressed before a petty and troubled soul committed such a despicable act in Pittsburgh."
Dr. Michael Foreman
Trauma surgeon

"The alarming frequency with which we watch these terrifying scenes unfold in our communities is devastating—and it's not normal. Every single day, nearly 100 Americans are killed with a gun in our country. We must not only recognize the realities of hatred in our society but actively work to make it harder for dangerous people fueled by hate to access firearms and murder innocent people."
Gabrielle Giffords
Former U.S. Representative; co-founder, Giffords: Courage to Fight Gun Violence

"As someone who is ethnically Jewish, I worry about the rise of anti-Semitism ... It is my hope that more American Jews, should they choose, consider more options to protect themselves—including firearms trainings."
Gabriella Hoffman
Media strategist and Resurgent writer

"As a Marine officer, I fought around the world to stop violent hate. The easy access to guns in this country has made already vile hate deadly. Every time an American kills another American, we do the enemy's job for them."
Kyleanne Hunter
Vice president of programs, Brady Campaign & Center to Prevent Gun Violence

"You have heard the stories of folks in the mural who defend our right to own a firearm for many reasons ... Perhaps for the first time, you all may get a glimpse of how we are often seen by our opponents, why we are so hesitant and cautious. This is our reality: we have all been told before when these events happen that we have blood on our hands, we are not fit to be parents, this is our fault. I hope you will take away from my message that we are just as horrified about what happened in Pittsburgh. We are no less angry, we are no less empathetic. We do wish someone had been there to stop it."
Holly Sullivan
Human-resources manager; executive board member, Connecticut Citizens Defense League

"Our schools, our synagogues, our temples, our concerts, our theaters—all of the places that we believed were safe, we are finding are not safe. The shootings continue. There are only two constants: one, that the shootings continue, and two, that Congress does nothing. And so I think we can all agree that doing nothing is not working."
Eric Swalwell
U.S. Representative (D., Calif.)

"Disarming people will not cure hate. It will just make the hateful find different ways to act on their hate. I believe that as long as there is hate and hateful people, the right to bear arms and protect yourself is even more important."
Cassidy O'Neill
Graduate student

"It may be a person's right to bear arms, but at what cost? Will we continue to allow these types of weapons on the street? When is enough, enough?"
Sharon Crossland
Mortgage servicing specialist

"To those feeling sad and desperate, I want to say—grab an oar."
Amanda Johnson
Advocate, Texas Moms Demand Action

To see the Guns in America mural in person at locations across the nation, host your own event or, in partnership with StoryCorps, add your voice to the conversation, go to **time.com/guns-in-america-tour**

TIME 100 X WEWORK Correspondent Haley Sweetland Edwards interviews chef José Andrés *(below)* about coordinating food donations to Floridians displaced by Hurricane Michael. The Times Square event was part of the TIME 100 × WeWork Speaker Series, featuring conversations with TIME 100 alumni at WeWork locations across the U.S. Read a recap of their talk at **time.com/chef-andres**

bonus TIME politics

Subscribe to TIME's free politics newsletter and get **exclusive news and insights from Washington,** sent straight to your inbox. For more, visit **time.com/politicsemail**

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In the Oct. 29 issue, the Health Care 50 misstated the status of the CVS-Aetna merger. The Department of Justice cleared the deal, but it's still being finalized. In that same issue, in Milestones, we miscalculated the time between the publication of the first Sears catalog and the chain's bankruptcy filing. It was 130 years.

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For the Record

'Believing that I could work with Trump and his administration to support our community was a mistake.'

CAITLYN JENNER,
trans-rights activist and reality-television star, in a Washington *Post* op-ed, after a leaked memo revealed a Trump Administration proposal to narrow the legal definition of gender

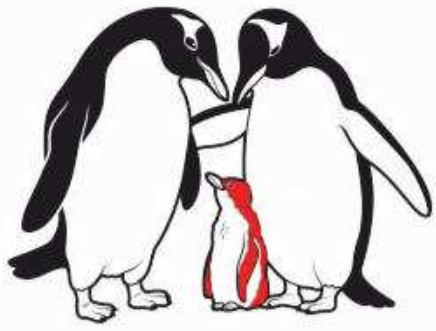
grout•i•er

adj., meaning "more surly"

The 68-point word that Nigel Richards, who lives in Malaysia, played to win the World Scrabble Championship in London on Oct. 28

'I URGE YOU TO STEP ASIDE.'

JIMMY CARTER,
39th U.S. President, to Georgia's secretary of state Brian Kemp in an Oct. 22 letter obtained by the Associated Press; Kemp is running for governor in an election overseen by his own office, a situation that Carter warned posed a risk to voter confidence; Kemp's office has been accused of stalling more than 53,000 voter registrations, about 70% of which are for people of color



3.21

Weight in ounces of a baby gentoo penguin born at the Sea Life aquarium in Sydney after its egg was "fostered" by a pair of male penguins

4

Number of *Big Bang Theory* stars in the top five spots on the *Forbes* list of the highest-paid TV actors; Jim Parsons is top with pretax income of $26.5 million for the year that ended June 1

'We're partners.'

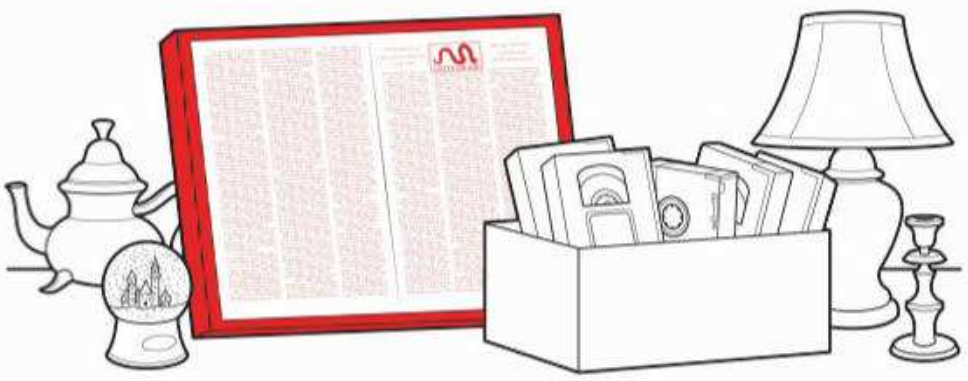
SHINZO ABE,
Japan's Prime Minister, on his country's relationship with longtime rival China

'This is bigger than one abuser.'

ALY RAISMAN,
American Olympic gymnast, calling for more changes at USA Gymnastics in light of its slow response to the abuse of athletes—including Raisman—by team doctor Larry Nassar, who is now in prison

Johannes Kepler
NASA retired eponymous space telescope after it ran out of fuel

Albert Einstein
A signed letter explaining theory of relativity fetched $32,500 at auction



244

Age in years of newspaper pages recently found at a Goodwill in Bellmawr, N.J.; the Dec. 28, 1774, edition of the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* features the revolutionary "Unite or Die" snake design and could be worth up to $16,000

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; BBC; NEW YORK TIMES

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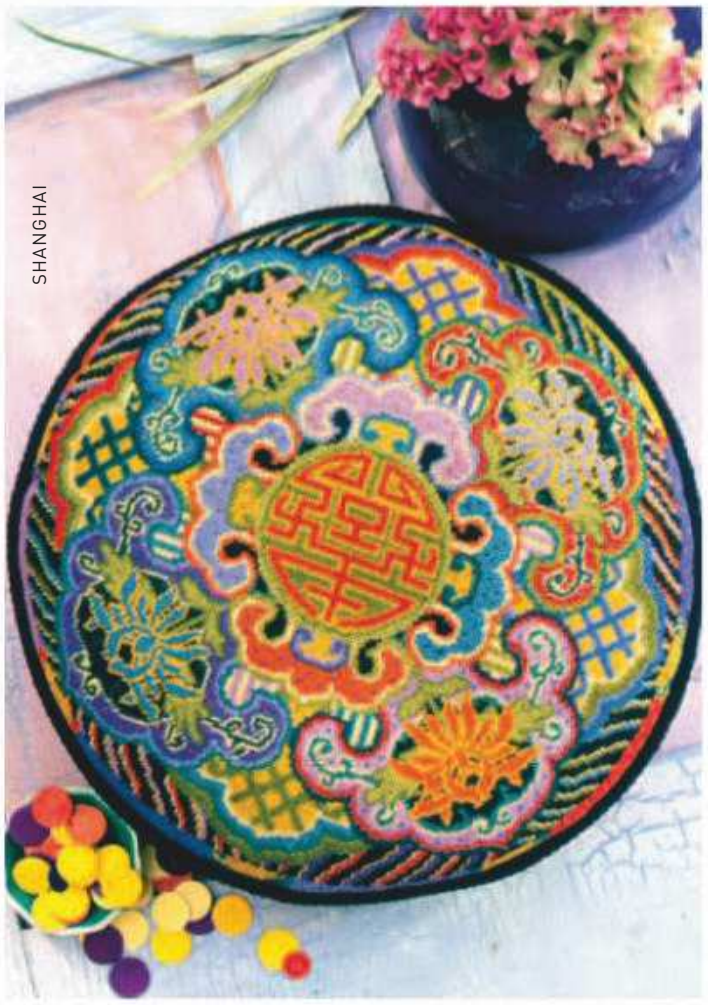
PAGODA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The Brief

THE LONG ROAD Honduran migrants, part of a caravan to the U.S., in Oaxaca state, Mexico, on Oct. 29

INSIDE

WHY TWO DIFFERENT MEN ARE CLAIMING TO BE PRIME MINISTER OF SRI LANKA

WHAT A FIRST-IN-THE-NATION CARBON TAX COULD MEAN FOR THE WORLD

HOW PLAYWRIGHT NTOZAKE SHANGE USED HER "RANGE OF FEROCITY" TO BLAZE TRAILS

PHOTOGRAPH BY GUILLERMO ARIAS

IMMIGRATION

The caravan as bandwagon

By Ioan Grillo/Huehuetán, Mexico

A THOUSAND MILES SOUTH OF THE RIO Grande, Lesly Xiomara Chirinos plodded along a Mexican road comforting her year-old son Murphy, her partner holding up an umbrella to shield them from the punishing sun. On Oct. 13, they abandoned their home in the Honduran city of La Ceiba to join several thousand people on the so-called migrant caravan heading north. Since then, they have been marching for long hours, jumping on pickup trucks, sleeping in parks, living on handouts of food.

Chirinos, 31, says she fled because of death threats by gang members trying to shake down the family grocery store. In Honduras, extortion is often backed up by murder. "They wait in front of the shop with big guns, and we are scared to go out," she says. "The military police are outside, and they don't do anything." Their hope now is to get asylum in the U.S., where they would be protected from the gangs and be able to work to support the rest of their family.

On the other side of the border, politics awaits. The caravan of migrants and asylum seekers has become a virtual obsession of U.S. President Donald Trump, who has railed against it in tweets and at rallies over the past two weeks. He has claimed that it has been infiltrated by gang members, that dangerous people from the Middle East are traveling with it or that the Democrats are behind it—all without evidence. Trump may see the caravan as a potent political issue ahead of the midterm elections, with an Oct. 18 poll showing that 55% of voters believe immigration is a very important issue. He also claimed on Oct. 29 that he plans to end birthright citizenship by Executive Order, a move many lawyers believe would be unconstitutional.

In addition to all the words, the Trump Administration is making real attempts to keep the caravan out. Trump has said he's willing to send as many as 15,000 troops to the U.S. border ahead of its potential arrival. Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen offered a message to its members on Oct. 28. "Do not come," she said on Fox News. "You will not be allowed in."

THE FIRST WHISPERS of the caravan came in early October, when migrant activists in Honduras began passing around messages on social media to mass at the bus station in the city of San Pedro Sula. Strength in numbers helps protect migrants from Mexican cartels that kidnap them and federal police who detain and deport them.

Initially, just a few hundred people turned up, but when local TV stations reported the gathering live, it rapidly grew into thousands. Many in the caravan describe seeing the coverage and deciding to immediately pack their bags and join. "People reacted to it because they are at breaking point," said Honduran TV reporter Orlin Castro. "This is the worst moment ever for my country."

Although the murder rate there has dropped from record peaks in recent years, Honduras remains plagued by sky-high crime rates and widespread poverty. President Juan Orlando Hernández was sworn in for a second term in January after an election marred by allegations of fraud, setting off violence that left dozens dead. "It's clear people are running from a failed state," said Adam Isacson of the Washington Office on Latin America.

Even before the caravan, Honduras had been a top source country for asylum seekers to the U.S., alongside Venezuela, El Salvador and Guatemala. However, U.S. courts have long been hard on Honduran applicants, with 78% of them rejected from 2012 to 2017. And in June, Attorney General Jeff Sessions directed judges to toughen the criteria, which could push the rejection rate even higher. "Donald Trump doesn't see them like human beings," said Irineo Mujica of the migrant support group Pueblo Sin Fronteras, which is helping the caravan. "He sees them like animals."

'My general message to the caravan is: Do not come. You will not be allowed in.'

KIRSTJEN NIELSEN, U.S. Homeland Security Secretary

The Trump Administration's tough stance hasn't stopped people from attempting to come to the U.S., though. At its peak the original caravan swelled to more than 7,000 people, while a second large group also made it to Mexico's southern border. On Oct. 28, Mexican federal police blocked the entrance bridge, leading to a confrontation in which a Honduran was killed, allegedly by a rubber bullet. But about 1,000 still made it over the river and could eventually catch up with the first group. Trump has vowed to put in tent cities any marchers who make it to the U.S. border.

Yet many on the march tell TIME they actually intend to stay in Mexico. Some 1,700 people who came in with the caravan have already applied for asylum here, and more could file from Mexico City, where the remaining 4,000 to 5,000 marchers plan to rest and debate their onward journey.

Josue Martinez, a 24-year-old law student from San Pedro Sula, says he plans to stay in Tijuana, where he has family. He is helping his younger brother flee, after a gang tried to forcibly recruit him. One thing he is certain of is that he won't turn back. "There has been killing of students and innocent civilians … The control by the gangs has grown," he said. "There is a terror, a fear, in Honduras." —*With reporting by* MAYA RHODAN/WASHINGTON

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WRECKAGE Indonesian search-and-rescue workers examine debris from Lion Air flight JT 610, which crashed into the Java Sea shortly after takeoff from Jakarta on Oct. 29, carrying 189 people. Witnesses said the plane nose-dived; authorities said finding any survivors was unlikely.

THE BULLETIN

A strongman returns in Sri Lanka, sparking a constitutional crisis

IN 2015, TWO RIVALS FORMED A COALITION to wrest Sri Lanka from authoritarian President Mahinda Rajapaksa. But three years on, that fragile pact is unraveling. On Oct. 26, President Maithripala Sirisena fired his ally Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe, installed Rajapaksa in the post and then suspended Parliament until Nov. 16. With both Prime Ministers claiming legitimacy, one of Asia's oldest democracies has been plunged into a constitutional crisis.

ALLIANCE GONE AWRY Relations between Sirisena and Wickremesinghe have soured as gripes over graft and economic mismanagement have piled up. Last year, the Foreign Minister resigned in a corruption scandal; a treasury-bond scam sparked a fistfight in Parliament in January. Rajapaksa's party swept local elections in February, signaling the coalition's rising unpopularity.

POWER PLAY Rajapaksa, a Buddhist nationalist, remains a towering figure in Sri Lanka—not least because as President from 2005 to 2015 he oversaw the end of a 25-year civil war with separatists from Sri Lanka's Tamil minority. But his government was estranged from the West, accused of war crimes and corruption, and racked up ruinous debts with China. Now Beijing is congratulating him on his return.

DIRE DEADLOCK With Wickremesinghe refusing to stand down, protesters filled Colombo's streets. Violence broke out Oct. 28 when the bodyguard of Wickremesinghe's Oil Minister fired on the crowds, killing two. The next day, Sirisena swore Rajapaksa into a new cabinet. Analysts say Rajapaksa's return marks the first time power has been transferred by unconstitutional means in Sri Lanka. "There is a vacuum," Wickremesinghe said, holed up in the prime ministerial residence. "No one is in full charge." —ELI MEIXLER

NEWS TICKER

Venice submerged by deadly storms

Famous piazzas and streets in Venice were left underwater on Oct. 29 after storms with winds of up to 110 m.p.h. hit Italy, **leaving at least 11 dead and hundreds requiring rescue.** Water levels in the historic canal city were up by 1.5 m, the fourth-highest levels ever recorded.

Study finds major decline in biodiversity

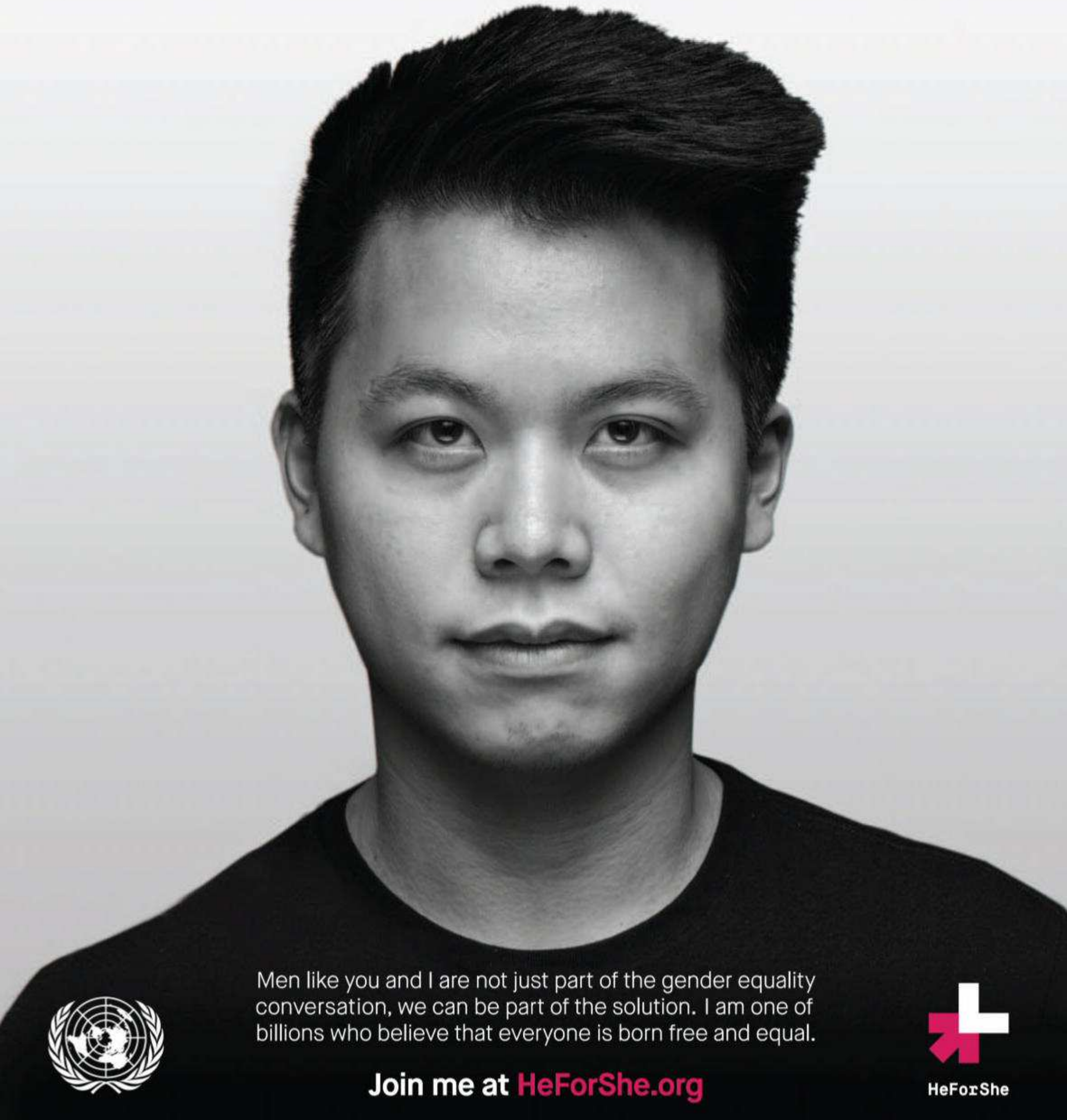
A new report from the World Wildlife Fund has found a **60% average decline in population size across thousands of kinds of mammals, birds, reptiles and fish** since 1970. The growth of human consumption—specifically through agriculture and the overexploitation of various species—is the biggest driver of the drop in biodiversity.

U.S. urges cease-fire in Yemen war

Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo **called on Oct. 31 for both sides in the Yemen conflict to agree to a cease-fire.** The U.N. has offered to lead peace talks to end the three-year conflict between a U.S.-backed, Saudi-led coalition and Houthi rebels, which has caused a humanitarian crisis.

DONAL HUSNI—NURPHOTO/GETTY IMAGES

I am #HeForShe
Are you?



Men like you and I are not just part of the gender equality conversation, we can be part of the solution. I am one of billions who believe that everyone is born free and equal.

Join me at HeForShe.org

HeForShe

NEWS TICKER

Government network hit with malware

A federal employee infected a U.S. government computer network with malware after **visiting 9,000 infected pornographic web pages at work,** according to an inspector general's report. The employee, who works at the U.S. Geological Survey, downloaded images onto personal devices.

Scientist stabbed in Antarctica

A Russian scientist working on an Antarctic research station allegedly **stabbed a colleague in the chest—apparently for revealing the endings of books he was reading,** according to the *Sun* newspaper. The victim survived; the attacker was charged with attempted murder, thought to be a first for the icy continent.

VP criticized for 'Messianic rabbi' invite

U.S. Vice President Mike Pence drew backlash for inviting a "Messianic rabbi" to mourn the Pittsburgh synagogue shooting victims at an event on Oct. 29. The man, who **prayed "in the name of Jesus,"** is part of a group considered offensive to many Jews because of its goal to convert Jews to Christianity.

GOOD QUESTION

What would a carbon tax mean for Washington State—and the earth?

WIN OR LOSE, A BALLOT INITIATIVE IN Washington State that would create a first-in-the-nation carbon tax has the potential to shake up the national debate about how to address climate change.

The policy known as I-1631 would, if approved, require companies to pay $15 for every metric ton of carbon dioxide they emit, beginning in 2020. The fee, which would increase over time, would provide the state with around $1 billion in annual revenue, which backers say could be used for solar and wind farms, restoration projects and climate-education programs, among other things. Supporters calculate that the measure would also allow the state to meet its official goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions 25% by 2035. And perhaps even more significantly, it would jump-start a national debate about how to put a price on carbon, a move many consider central to stemming warming.

"If Washington gets this in place, it's going to provide a different picture of what's possible," says John Larsen, a director at the Rhodium Group, an energy-research firm.

Passage of the tax remains far from certain. Voters in the state rejected a carbon tax in 2016, in part for being too conservative, and polling suggests that this version is a toss-up. While local companies such as Microsoft and Expedia have announced support, several oil-and-gas-industry players have spent tens of millions of dollars opposing it.

But regardless of the outcome, the effort is likely to help shape the emerging national discussion over pricing carbon. A loss would raise questions about the viability of a progressive carbon tax that funds government programs and perhaps lead some activists to change tack. (A more moderate approach to a carbon tax is "revenue neutral," meaning it gives the money back to taxpayers, typically with a tax cut.) On the other hand, a win would give momentum to such measures, particularly in blue states.

While the idea of a federal carbon tax may seem remote, a slew of small developments hint at an emerging debate. A group of GOP elder statesmen and economists are promoting their own carbon-tax proposal. Congressman Carlos Curbelo, a Florida Republican, introduced a carbon-tax bill this year that would fund infrastructure. And the tenor of discussion among fossil-fuel companies, which for decades funded efforts to distort climate science, has changed as they increasingly recognize that measures to address climate change are inevitable in the long run.

Though most Republicans on Capitol Hill remain silent, at least a dozen GOP Senators are interested in a climate-change solution, says Senator Sheldon Whitehouse, a Rhode Island Democrat. "There's a very realistic prospect," he says, of getting all Democrats and "a significant, telling number of Republicans" to move on the issue. Measures like I-1631 may play a major role in determining just what that move looks like. —JUSTIN WORLAND

HISTORY

Plundering the past

British police arrested a man who tried to use a hammer to steal the Magna Carta, a 1215 royal charter, from Salisbury Cathedral on Oct. 25. Here, other historical heists. —*Ciara Nugent*

RAIDED RELICS
Two students spent the early morning of Christmas Day 1985 at Mexico City's anthropology museum, swiping 124 pre-Columbian artifacts. Most of the goods were found four years later at a suburban house.

PILFERED PAPERS
Two men were jailed in 2012 for lifting a series of important documents from East Coast archives, including a speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt and an 1846 letter sent by Charles Dickens to Edgar Allan Poe.

LOOTED LUNCH BOX
In September, two thieves in Hyderabad, southern India, stole a diamond-encrusted lunch box once owned by the region's king. Police said they used it for their meals until they were found a week later in a Mumbai hotel.

DIED
Boston gangster **James "Whitey" Bulger,** at age 89 on Oct. 30. The former informant was beaten to death in prison, to which he had been sentenced for life after his conviction in 2013 for multiple murders.

BREATHED
Toxic air, **polluted enough to endanger health and development,** by more than 90% of the world's children under age 15, per a new World Health Organization report.

SMASHED
The **record for closest approach to the sun by a human-made object,** by NASA's Parker Solar Probe on Oct. 29. The previous record was set by the Helios 2 probe in 1976.

DROPPED
China's **yuan,** to its lowest point in a decade. The currency hit 6.97 to the dollar on Oct. 30 amid the nation's ongoing trade war with the U.S.

OVERTURNED
A constitutional **ban on blasphemy in Ireland,** by about 65% of voters in a nationwide ballot on Oct. 26.

LOOSENED
A 25-year-old **ban on the medicinal use of rhinoceros and tiger parts,** by China's government on Oct. 29. Conservationists denounced the move.

FORFEITED
Her royal title and status, by Japan's Princess Ayako, as she married commoner Kei Moriya on Oct. 29.

MAGNA CARTA: BEN BIRCHALL—PA WIRE/AP; SHANGE: AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; MERKEL: SEAN GALLUP—GETTY IMAGES

Shange in New York City in 1976, the year for colored girls … *premiered*

DIED

Ntozake Shange
Playwright of power

By Suzan-Lori Parks

THERE'S A MOMENT WHERE WORDS ARE SO LIMITING. TO SAY Ntozake Shange—who died at 70 on Oct. 27—was a playwright, novelist, poet and activist is limiting. Even to say she was fierce and funny and kind is limiting. She was a trailblazer, a fire starter, a queen.

I met her through her work—specifically *for colored girls who have considered suicide / when the rainbow is enuf*—long before I dreamed of meeting her in person, and then many years later we were on a panel together. When someone asked a "stupid" question, she would slay them—*wither, poof.* I was a kid writer and didn't understand yet what it was all about, but she assured me that one learns how to handle the praise-sayers and the naysayers. The range of ferocity she had is important to note. Today so much of Hollywood is blossoming for people of color; it ain't no easy road yet, but it's a lot easier than it used to be. The kind of trailblazing Ntozake did can be exhausting, but bless her brilliant sister-heart for fighting those battles for us. But again, to merely describe her is ultimately limiting. If you read her work—and read it aloud—you will get her words, and you will get her.

Parks is a playwright and was the first African-American woman to win a Pulitzer for drama, for *Topdog/Underdog*

DEPARTING

Angela Merkel
Europe's bulwark

By Nina Schick

WHEN ANGELA MERKEL WAS elected to the helm of Germany's Christian Democrats, 9/11 hadn't happened, Lehman Brothers existed and the iPhone was just an idea.

But after 18 years and four elections to the position of Chancellor, Europe's most enduring politician announced on Oct. 29 that she will step down as party chair in December and not seek re-election as Chancellor in 2021. Merkel is a pragmatist: Germany needs new political blood, and she would rather jump than be pushed.

Merkel presided over a period of peace, prosperity and stability—at least for Germany. As her counterparts came and went, she witnessed the 2008 financial crash, the euro-zone crisis, the Arab Spring, the conflict in Ukraine, the election of Donald Trump and Brexit.

But after she opened borders to more than a million refugees in 2015, the fallout was immense. As German politics becomes more polarized, Merkel's departure is a blow to those who hailed her as leader of the free world. The question, when she leaves, is how much of what she stood for will remain.

Schick is a political researcher and director of data at Rasmussen Global

America's reigning expert on feelings, **Brené Brown** now takes on leadership

By Belinda Luscombe

BRENÉ BROWN, PH.D., IS A SWINGER. SHE REALLY puts herself out there and goes at it with purpose, no matter whom she's doing it with. To be clear: She swings on swings, in the park. And she's good at it. She can swing without holding on. She can swing while holding forth on the human condition. She can swing while talking about the mixed blessing of changing a person's life. She can swing while expounding on how research changes the way you see pain. She can swing with dignity.

This should not come as a complete surprise. Brown, 52, a research professor at the University of Houston, has built a mini-empire around the academic study of courage, vulnerability, shame and empathy, at least two of which are required to get on the swings in New York City's Central Park in broad daylight as an adult and enjoy it. Her realm, the Brené Brown Education and Research Group, includes five best-selling books (the fifth joined the pack in October) and two dozen speaking engagements a year ($100,000 fix on brTimeWith 1 a pop) at outfits as varied as the Air Force and Pixar. A nonprofit, Daring Education, spreads her teaching even wider. Since 2010, when she gave her spectacularly viral TED talk about the power of vulnerability (35 million views and counting), Brown has become one of America's leading brainiacs on feelings: she's Oprah with an endowed chair instead of a TV network.

It's telling that the place Brown gets recognized most often is Whole Foods, the upscale grocery chain that caters to the socially conscious. Brown bursts out laughing upon realizing this, even though most of the stories she hears amid the vegan mac-and-cheese are sad, about people's divorces and sick children. That's O.K. with her. "My mom had this really incredible rule when we were growing up, which was we never look away from pain," she says. "So, if something hard happened, we'd always be the first to go to that house. She said, 'Look people in the eye when they're in pain, because when people look away, it makes you feel alone.'" She pauses a moment. "My mom came from hard stuff."

Given all this, and Brown's self-proclaimed job description as a storyteller, the subject of her new book seems to come out of left field. *Dare to Lead,* already the second best-selling nonfiction title on Amazon within a week of its release, is a manual on leadership and management, a subject more popular among the denizens of airport lounges than book clubs. "I want to live in a world with braver, bolder leaders," she writes, "and I want to pass that world on to my children." She even adopts business gurus' passion for pithy phrases, coining "turn and learn," explaining the difference between "power over" and "power with," and conveying the necessity of not just discussing difficult issues but "rumbling" on them *(see sidebar)*.

Brown argues that what some see as a move into Tony Robbins' turf is a perfectly natural progression. "Courage is a prerequisite for all leadership," she says. And it can be taught. It's made up of four skills: being vulnerable is the most important, followed by sticking to values, trusting others and persistence. There can be no courage without vulnerability and no vulnerability without the risk of failure. "One of the things that we learned in the research," she says, "is that people who have the skills to get back up from a fall will engage in smarter risks and more courageous behaviors than people who don't."

There are thousands of books on leadership, plenty of which are by people with more experience in leading than Brown has. Indeed, for all her research on the subject, some of her hardest lessons were learned as she attempted to launch her online institute, also called Dare to Lead, after closing her first, COURAGEworks, and rebranding another effort, Brave Leaders Inc. "I'd rather study leadership than lead," says Brown as we pass a literal pecking order of geese beside one of Central Park's ponds. But what Brown offers that others don't is a nerd's capacity for qualitative data and grounded theory coupled with enough warmth and humor that she moves people rather than merely training them.

CASANDRA BRENÉ BROWN was born in Texas and raised partly in New Orleans. Her path to academic success was unconventional. She bounced around between colleges until landing at the University of Texas at Austin, from which she got her first social-work degree, 12 years after leaving high school. (She also worked at an AT&T call center.) While doing an assignment for her master's, she noticed a lot of alcoholics in her family tree. Concerned about her own proclivities, she enrolled in A.A.—and gave up drinking, smoking and caffeine the day after she finished her second degree at the University of Houston. "Best thing I ever did," she says. It's not just the sobriety. In many ways, Brown's areas of expertise—about embracing imperfection and being authentic—overlap with her education in the 12-step program.

It's hard to imagine Brown ever needing much in the way of social lubricants; she claims to be an introvert but has always been a connector. Her mantra before she goes onstage to speak is "People. People. People." She keeps the lights at 50% so she can see who she's talking to and describes connecting with an audience as "experiencing the surge." She can't

BROWN'S LEADERSHIP HACKS

Don't talk, "rumble"
For hard discussions, tell the person you want to rumble, or to have an awkward and messy conversation, for the good of the project.

Don't ask, "paint done"
Give context and color to instructions. Attach them to larger strategies.

Don't assume, "turn and learn"
Have team members privately write down how long a project should take, count to three, then reveal their answers.

JOSE TUTIVEN

walk 20 steps in Central Park without telling the subject of a photo shoot that she looks beautiful or saying "Hellooo Momma!" to a passing toddler. She is as likely to get invited to speak at churches as at universities, to be asked to explain the value of vulnerability to engineers and corporate executives as to social workers like herself. She trains multitudes.

Perhaps because of this, the current era of sharp divisions—of Brexit and a very polarizing President—is not a shock to her. "When I heard the very specific stuff that [Donald Trump] said about political correctness [during his campaign], I thought, Every person who heard that and thinks of themselves as a good and fair person, and does not understand the nature of systemic oppression, feels seen and unashamed for the first time in a long time." When people are in pain, she says, "they say, 'Give me an enemy, someone to hate, someone to blame for my pain, and I'll let you do anything you want.'"

Brown has experienced these divisions firsthand, as when her support of the Black Lives Matter movement led to her getting death threats. "The hardest thing for me is when people say, 'You changed my life; stop talking about political issues,'" she says. "If people read my work and don't understand why I'm speaking up on behalf of sexual-assault survivors, then they didn't understand the work."

'Look people in the eye when they're in pain, because when people look away, it makes you feel alone.'

BRENÉ BROWN

But even in agitated times, Brown is optimistic about the future. "I think we are seeing the last stand of 'power over,'" she says. "'Power over' is about believing that power is finite, like pizza—you have to hoard it and you don't want people who are different from you to have it." Outside politics, she sees a desire for a different form of leadership emerging in the thousands of speaking requests she gets every year. "Even in my work with the military, leaders say, 'There has to be a form of leadership where, when we say *turn right*, everyone turns right because it's life or death,'" she notes. "But they're also questioning any kind of leadership that doesn't empower and strengthen people and build trust in teams."

Brown's move from helping folks with personal change to trying to effect wholesale cultural transformation is ambitious. But she's energized by it. After all, it's not so unlike swinging: both require throwing yourself in with abandon and aiming for the sky. ☐

LightBox

The thrill of victory

The Boston Red Sox celebrate winning another World Series, their fourth in 15 seasons, on Oct. 28. Before finishing off the Los Angeles Dodgers 5-1 in Game 5 of the Fall Classic, the Red Sox dominated all year, winning 108 regular-season games—the most for any team since 2001. Remember when Sox fans suffered through an 86-year World Series drought? A different tradition has taken hold.

Photograph by David J. Phillip—AP/Shutterstock

For more of our best photography, visit time.com/lightbox

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PICTURED: MEMBERS OF MARVEL STUDIOS' AVENGERS ALONG WITH CANCER FIGHTERS DR. PHIL SHARP AND AMERICAN AIRLINES TEAM MEMBER, SHANDRA FITZPATRICK.

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TheView

NATION

THE COLLEGE SPORTS SHAM

By Sean Gregory

On election night, when much of the nation anxiously awaits the returns, college-basketball fans will be glued to a blockbuster matchup of a different sort: a season-opening doubleheader featuring Michigan State vs. Kansas, followed by Duke-Kentucky in the nightcap. ESPN is airing the entire thing in prime time.

INSIDE

THINK TWICE BEFORE COUNTING ON BLOCKCHAIN TO HELP THE POOR

A NEW LEVEL OF PARTISANSHIP: WE CAN'T AGREE ON THE MEANING OF A WORD

A DATA-DRIVEN SUGGESTION FOR FIXING THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

This early-season clash of the sport's blue-blood programs will likely make for great viewing. But it should also serve as a reminder of all that's rotten at the core of America's college sports industrial complex.

Consider, for example, that the four head coaches in these games—all of whom are members of the Basketball Hall of Fame—took home a combined $26.4 million in total pay in 2018, according to a salary database compiled by *USA Today*. Yet NCAA regulations disallow the players they coach—the ones millions will be cheering and jeering on national television—from making a market wage. This hypocrisy was thrown into fresh relief on Oct. 24, when a jury in a New York City courthouse found that paying players isn't just a violation of the NCAA's bureaucratic rules—it now can be a federal crime.

An Oct. 24 verdict could reshape college sports

The verdict stems from a two-year federal investigation into corruption in college basketball. Not surprisingly to anyone even passingly acquainted with the seedy underbelly of big-time college recruiting, federal officials found a cesspool of illicit payments and kickbacks designed to attract players to certain schools. Assistant coaches, industry insiders and hangers-on were arrested. After a three-week trial, a jury found three defendants—an ex–Adidas marketing exec, a former Adidas consultant and an aspiring sports agent—guilty of wire fraud and conspiracy to commit wire fraud. Sentencing for James Gatto, Merl Code Jr. and Christian Dawkins is scheduled for March. (Gatto will likely appeal the case.)

But as in a bracket-busting upset in the March Madness tournament, there's a twist. (That tournament, by the way, will bring the NCAA $879 million in broadcast payments and licensing rights this season.) The verdict is a chance to force college sports to operate in a more honest manner. That includes major college football, which suffers from similar shortcomings. ESPN, for example, paid $7.3 billion for the rights to air that sport's four-team playoff for a dozen years; Alabama coach Nick Saban is the state's highest-paid public employee, at $8.3 million this season. Meanwhile, the kids playing the games are entitled to relatively little above the value of a scholarship.

"The federal government has now proven itself ready to sink its teeth into college basketball," says Marc Edelman, law professor at Baruch College's Zicklin School of Business. "But the prosecutors missed the big issue here."

That issue is being addressed in civil cases challenging the prohibition on payments to college athletes. One of the NCAA's core arguments in support of amateurism is that paying players would turn off fans and hurt the bottom line of NCAA schools. The criminal trial, however, showed the opposite. In testimony exposing college basketball's black-market economy, former Adidas associate T.J. Gassnola said he paid the family of former Kansas player Billy Preston $89,000 and the guardian of current Kansas forward Silvio De Sousa $2,500 for online classes. Money is already flowing to players; business is booming and will continue to thrive.

THE CRIMINAL CASE was a head-scratcher from the start. Federal prosecutors argued that the defendants defrauded colleges by paying players, since those payments violated NCAA rules and would make them ineligible to suit up for their schools. In effect, the defendants denied the schools the services of these athletes. So lawyers framed schools as the victims. The jury, by handing down the guilty verdict, agreed with this reasoning. But at the same time, the NCAA can use evidence from the trial to punish the institutions supposedly wronged here. For example, the NCAA could sanction Kansas for suiting up De Sousa a season ago, when he played in 20 games. Only in the twisted world of college sports would the enterprise's governing body—the NCAA—penalize the so-called victims of a federal crime.

The government should be encouraging payments for players rather than prosecuting those who tried to make that happen. There's robust economic demand for college athletic talent. Why not acknowledge this reality, allow and regulate a market and move on? Why force the money into the dark? Money needs to flow to the players who deserve it. No matter what a jury says. ☐

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

Testing gender

Responding to news that the Trump Administration may define gender as a fixed biological trait—effectively rolling back protections for transgender Americans—TIME editor at large Jeffrey Kluger offers a scientific reality check: **there is no genetic test that can definitively show gender.**

Blockchain's limitations

Blockchain, the technology behind cryptocurrencies like Bitcoin, allows for the exchange of currency without banks—which has inspired optimism about its ability to empower unbanked people around the world. But, financial inclusion expert Alice Merry argues, such systems **distract from proven means of improving inclusion.**

Politicalspeak

Partisanship has seeped into our vocabulary, writes pollster Frank Luntz. In a focus group, many **Republicans and Democrats agreed that America is "exceptional" but didn't agree on what that means**—just one example of how politics is informing our shared language and values.

RONALD MARTINEZ—GETTY IMAGES

Imagining a more representative House

By Chris Wilson

INTENSE SPECULATION OVER WHO WILL win control of the House of Representatives on Nov. 6 papers over a troubling reality: the chamber is an embarrassment to democracy. And not just because of gerrymandering, dark money and so forth. It's because there aren't nearly enough seats to go around.

For its first 130 years or so, Congress regularly expanded the size of the House from its original 65 seats as new states joined the Union and the population blossomed. But the total flatlined at 435 seats in 1929. The population of the country has more than tripled since, making it impossible for each member of Congress to represent even roughly the same number of people.

We are due for a dramatic expansion. Specifically, by my calculations, there ought to be 930 seats. Here's why:

The 435 House seats are reapportioned after every 10-year census. As of 2010, every member of the House would ideally represent approximately 708,000 people. But given the wide disparity in state populations, there is no mathematically possible way to get anywhere close to this parity without somehow inventing fractional lawmakers.

As it stands, Montana's lone Representative represents over 1 million constituents, while Rhode Island, which had only about 6% more people in 2010, enjoys two seats for a current ratio of about 530,000 people in each district.

All the Constitution requires is that "each State shall have at Least one Representative" and that the rest be divided "according to their respective Numbers," a figure that eventually came to represent everyone equally. Beyond that, it's up to Congress to decide both how many seats there are and how to parcel them out.

To do so, Congress has since 1940 used the "equal proportions" method. After comping every state its one seat, this algorithm uses a round-robin system to assign the remaining 385 seats one at a time to the state that needs another Representative the most. This need is recalculated after each round.

The method isn't perfect, but the problem isn't the math. The problem is that there just aren't enough seats to go around.

TO DETERMINE the ideal House size, I calculated how many members each state would get for every possible version of the House up to three times its current size. For each result, I then computed the disparity in seats per constituents across the 50 states.

Curiously, certain key numbers of seats are vastly better than others. Looking under the hood, these magic numbers occur when the last remaining needy small state gets the last available slot in the game of musical seats. Adding even five seats would significantly improve the House's fairness—the 440th seat would, in fact, go to Montana. The next magic number is 489, when the last seat would go to tiny Delaware.

The disparity really starts to drop at 773 seats, when Wyoming, the least populous state, would finally get a second seat. But we can do better. The unhealthy discrepancy in representation drops steadily up to a hypothetical 930 seats. Then, interestingly enough, it actually stays about the same or gets worse as the seat count grows.

In the 930-seat scenario, each House member would represent an average of 331,000 people, leading to a smaller amount of variance from state to state and a well-deserved headache for practitioners of the dark art of gerrymandering.

Adding nearly 500 seats would also, I suspect, lead to a healthy selection of politicians from more than two parties and many walks of life, such that members of Congress would look a lot more like the nation they represent. Instead of the dreary sequence of party-line votes we witness now, C-SPAN coverage would be replaced by a rowdy, delightfully turbulent process with uncertain outcomes.

This would be chaos of the best variety. It is easy to forget that nothing contributes more to an active and attentive Congress than a biennial superdose of entropy. □

HOW TO FIX IT

If the House were adjusted to keep up with population, each member would represent fewer citizens and the range of representation would be more uniform

Current 435-seat House

708,000 people per Representative average

POOREST REPRESENTATION

	MONT.	DEL.	S.D.
REPS.	1	1	1
PEOPLE PER REP.	989K	898K	814K

BEST REPRESENTATION

	R.I.	WYO.	NEB.
REPS.	2	1	3
PEOPLE PER REP.	526K	564K	609K

Difference between best and worst: **47%**

Proposed 930-seat House

331,000 people per Representative average

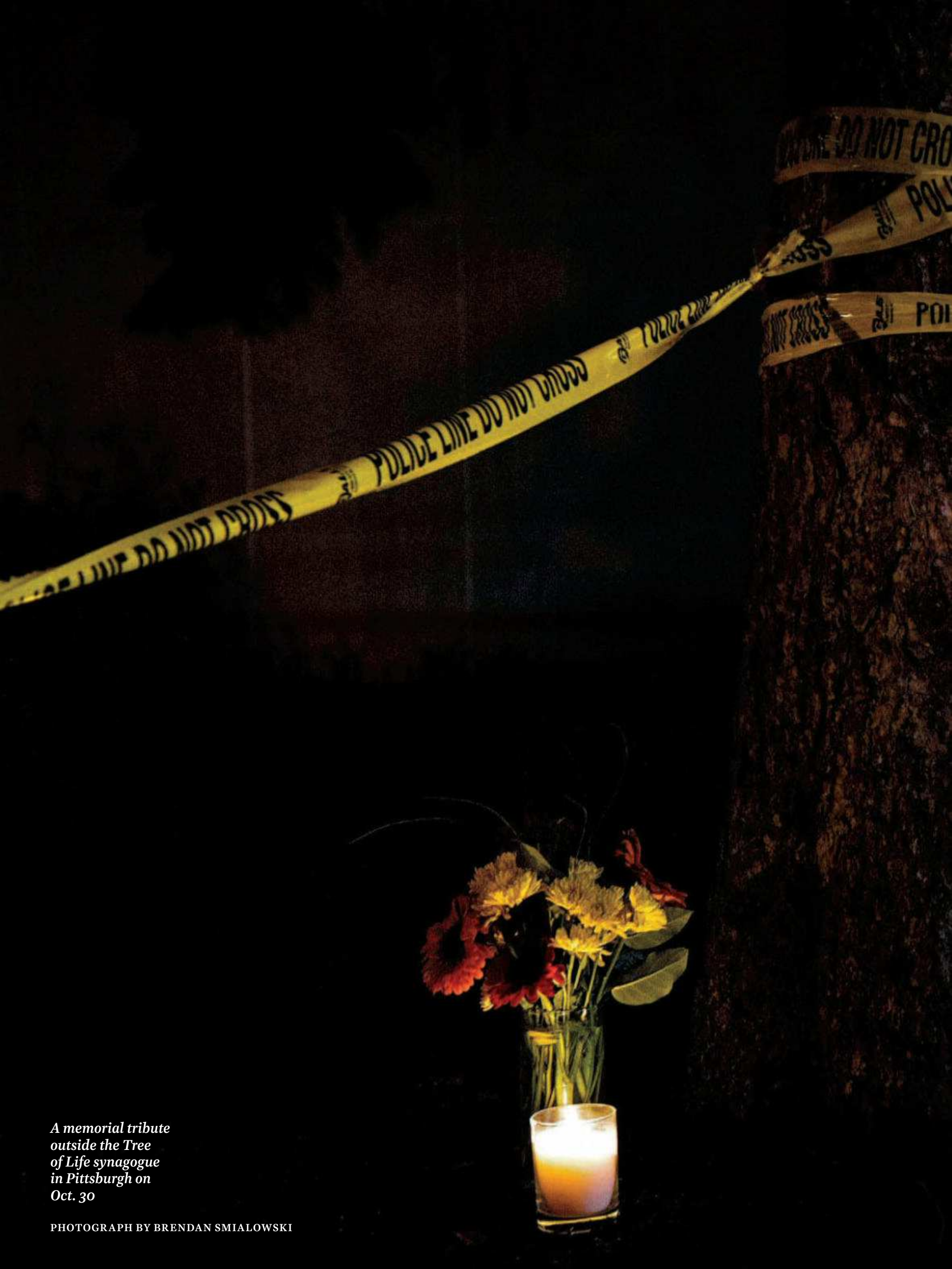
POOREST REPRESENTATION

	ALASKA	R.I.	UTAH
REPS.	2	3	8
PEOPLE PER REP.	355K	351K	345K

BEST REPRESENTATION

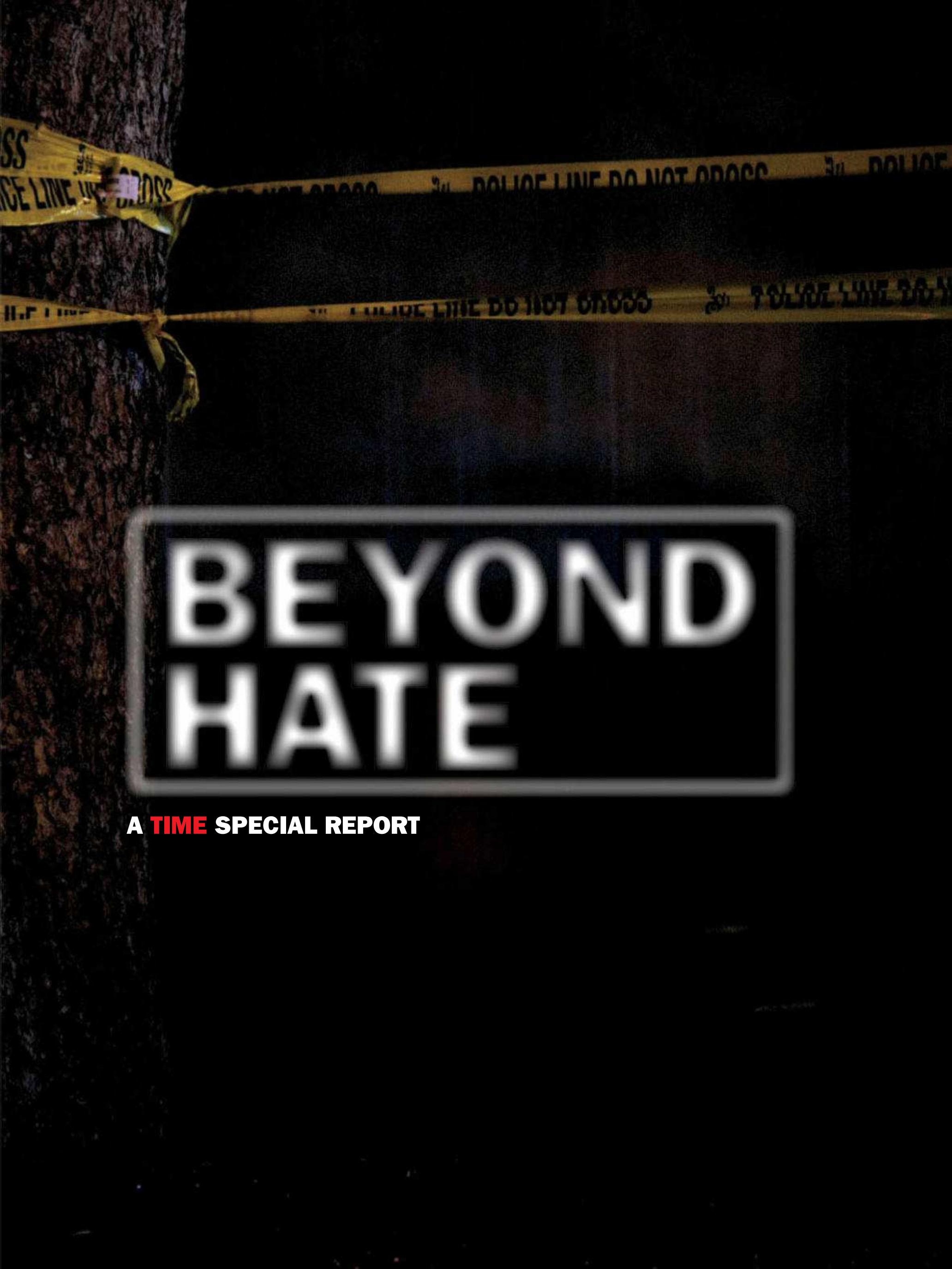
	S.D.	WYO.	DEL.
REPS.	3	2	3
PEOPLE PER REP.	271K	282K	299K

Difference between best and worst: **24%**



A memorial tribute outside the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh on Oct. 30

PHOTOGRAPH BY BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI



A TIME SPECIAL REPORT

THE ONLY WAY FORWARD

BY NANCY GIBBS

Hate, among all our base instincts, is the most distinctly human. In animals, violence and venom are tools of survival; in humans, of supremacy. Small, scared people hate, self-hating people hate, bullied and betrayed

people hate, as though hate will make them large and safe and strong. The twisted writings of this latest class of attackers suggest they felt called to their hatreds as a duty. Robert Bowers allegedly blamed Jews for their outreach to refugees and vowed to repel "invaders" moving north through Central America as he set off to the synagogue: "I can't sit by and watch my people get slaughtered," an account matching his name posted, like a martyr dispatched to a massacre. Accused mail bomber Cesar Sayoc stalked George Soros, the billionaire Holocaust survivor and Democratic donor, who conspiracy theorists claimed was funding that invasion—never mind that those armed invaders were nearly a thousand miles away and the main thing in their arms was their children. "Whites don't kill whites," a witness quoted Gregory Bush as saying; he was arrested in the murders of two black shoppers at a Kentucky grocery store, allegedly having failed to get into a predominantly black church nearby.

We're having a master class on hate because we've no choice; it has moved from the part of our character we work hardest to suppress to the part we can least afford to ignore. Hate slipped its bonds and runs loose, through our politics, platforms, press, private encounters. And the further it travels, the stronger it grows. People unaccustomed to despising anyone, ever, find themselves so frightened or appalled by what they see across the divide that they are prepared to fight it hand to hand. Calls for civility are scorned as weak, a form of unilateral disarmament. President Trump calls for unity in the same breath that he undermines it, demonizing adversaries, minimizing threats, trivializing trauma. He didn't consider canceling a political rally out of respect for the slain; he considered it, he said, because he was having a bad hair day.

So much attention is paid to the President's lies that we can miss his radical honesty. He didn't see any need to call the former Presidents in the wake of assassination attempts; "I think we'll probably pass," he said. That mail-bomb spree was a shame, he argued, because it slowed Republicans' midterm momentum. His tweets of sympathy for the victims of the synagogue shooting were followed by color commentary on the World Series. The solution to such shootings, he suggested, was to bring back the death penalty: How better to fight violence than with more violence? And if there is a rising of dark and dangerous forces in the land, he believes, it means that "the Fake News Media, the true Enemy of the People, must stop the open & obvious hostility & report the news accurately & fairly."

Likewise, the evidence of his utter lack of empathy belies his great gift and political advantage—this ability he has to sense our darkest instincts and call to them, coax them out of hiding, when we'd much prefer not to see them at all. Of all the norms he violates, this is among the most disturbing: that Americans will always seek leaders who lift us up and bring us together rather than drag us down and tear us apart. Make America Great Again has been a brilliant, aspirational slogan for the resentful and aggrieved; but that road to greatness turns out to run through the smoking wreckage of institutions, values and national honor. Gone is the joy that comes from political battle that is not a fight to the death. When politics becomes blood sport, people actually die.

HERE THEN IS THE CHALLENGE: our normal responses aren't working. The spread of conspiracy theories as the "real truth" at least presumes that truth matters, even as the theories undermine it. Social networks designed to connect friends turn out to be expertly designed to create enemies. Fact-checking makes no difference; tribes trump truth. When reporters try to hold the President accountable for inflaming the hatred, he attacks them for bias, for fueling division. When partisans on the left call for fighting fire with fire, they validate the tactics that debase our discourse.

Caught in the cross fire is a public not so much enraged as exhausted, at a loss to explain or escape the ugly, intellectually barren fever swamps that now pass for our public square. Conspiracy theories flourish as a substitute for the hard work of actual knowledge. They grant those who embrace them a

shortcut to superiority: *average* people believe what they hear on the evening news or read in the papers, but *you* are smarter, you know better, you see the patterns and plots behind these events, the "globalists" pulling the strings, the "deep state" undermining your mission. You can't be fooled, you won't be puppets, you know better, you know the truth.

SO WHAT TO DO? The most eloquent politicians who warn of the toll this is taking are mainly the ones departing the scene. Where will we find moral leaders in an age of abdication, when "elites" of all kinds are suspect, whether teachers or preachers or scientists or scholars?

If our past is a guide and comfort, it comes from where it always comes from. Look left, look right, not up or down. Leadership lies with the spirit of the Tree of Life synagogue, where victims included the dentist who offered his services at the free clinic, the brothers who had "not an ounce of hate in them," as their rabbi said at their funeral, the couple married there more than 60 years ago, all mourned by the thousands who came out to stand vigil in silent solidarity. It lies with the postal workers going about their work even as more mail bombs turned up, and the neighbors in Kentucky who, in the wake of the grocery-store shootings, held a community meeting to discuss race and violence.

Bob Ossler, a fire department chaplain from Cape Coral, Fla., comforts Melissa Kirchner outside the Tree of Life synagogue

If the opposite of love isn't hate but indifference, then the antidote to hate is engagement. It comes from the people who spent the weekend knocking on doors and staffing phone banks to get out the vote on Election Day. From the enterprise of technologists looking for ways to drain some of the toxins from our information streams. From employees who are letting their bosses know what kind of humane, sustainable culture they expect in one of the richest countries on earth. From church groups and civic clubs and marchers raising money for clothing drives or breast-cancer research or tree plantings. From teachers staying after school to tutor and coaches teaching their players about the difference between an opponent and an enemy, so they can take that wisdom with them into a public space that feels less like a sport than a war. Leadership will come from uncountable individual decisions to model kindness, to fight alienation, to get offline and into the streets or the classroom or the sanctuary and help someone in trouble.

This much is clear. Whatever happens on Tuesday, no one is coming to save us. We'll have to do this ourselves.

Gibbs, a former editor-in-chief of TIME, is the Edward R. Murrow visiting professor at Harvard Kennedy School of Government

PREVIOUS PAGES: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; THIS PAGE: HILARY SWIFT—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

THE RISE OF RIGHT-WING TERRORISM

BY DANIEL BENJAMIN

New York City police officers outside CNN offices after a suspicious device was found there on Oct. 24

POLICE: WILLIAM FARRINGTON—POLARIS; PARISHONERS: DAVID GOLDMAN—POOL/GETTY IMAGES

ONE IRONY OF THE TREE OF LIFE SYNAgogue killings is that Jews have never been more accepted. A Pew Research Center poll last year found that Americans feel more warmly toward Jews than any other religious group. It's clear we are a long, long way from the days when American Jews fretted over an influx of refugees fleeing Nazi Europe because they worried it would inflame anti-Semitism.

And yet those well-documented attitudes exist alongside the slaughter in Pittsburgh. Anti-Semitism has never been eradicated, and probably never could be. It dwells in the crevices and fissures. Largely extinguished in the uppermost reaches of society, it flourishes most among cranks and broken souls on the margins. To be sure, Jew hatred is a minority phenomenon, but in an age when AR-15s are easy to come by, even the smallest minority is profoundly dangerous.

Anti-Semitic incidents have increased dramatically, up 57% in just the past year according to the Anti-Defamation League. In fact, hate crimes are up across the board. Statistics show the number of people killed by far-right extremists since Sept. 11 is roughly equal to the number killed in the U.S. by jihadist terrorists—a fact that has received little public attention and gone unremarked upon by FBI Director Christopher Wray in his annual testimony before Congress. Hate crimes against Muslims also rose almost 20% in 2016 over 2015.

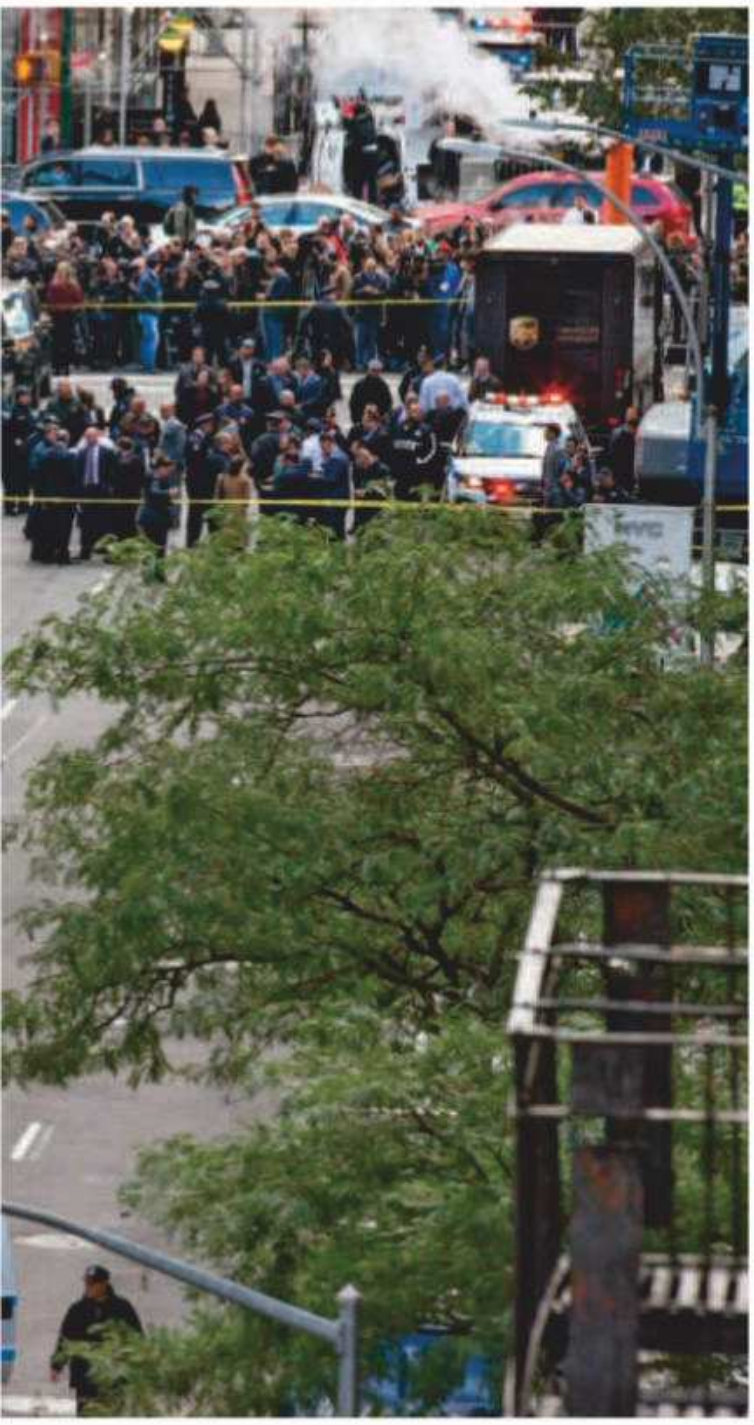
TWO MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS appear to be driving the rise in acts of hatred. The first is the creation of an extremist community online. Both Robert Bowers, the suspected Pittsburgh shooter, and Cesar Sayoc Jr., who is believed to be responsible for mailing 14 pipe bombs to high-profile Donald Trump critics and CNN, were compulsive netizens. Sayoc maintained multiple accounts on Facebook and Twitter. Bowers frequented Gab, a social network used by white supremacists driven off Twitter.

The online world gave these two a home in which they could express sentiments that they dared not advertise widely in their daily lives, though with some acquaintances, Sayoc appears to have had less compunction. As we've seen all too often, these online communities have become gigantic amplifiers. Just as the Internet turbocharged the jihadi universe and created a global support community for ISIS, it has networked and inspired the far right.

The second development that has lit up this increasingly linked and animated extremist world is Trump. The statistics demonstrate clearly that the biggest bump in hate crimes in recent history coincides with the period since his presidential campaign began. This is not just a matter of correlation. Trump's incendiary rhetoric has given license to those who peddle hatred to emerge from the shadows. Sayoc and Bowers seem clearly unhinged, barely functioning and susceptible to any utterance from the Commander in Chief.

Though he was sure to condemn Saturday's attack and the previous week's terrorism, Trump evinces little conviction. He denounces "globalists," not Jews, but anyone with eyes to see recognizes the reference to international Jewry—one made all the more visible by his sly attacks on billionaire George Soros. His reference to his own former staffer Gary Cohn as a globalist—as well as the closing ad of the 2016 campaign, which vilified Goldman Sachs CEO Lloyd Blankfein, Fed chairman Janet Yellen and Soros, a trinity of Jewish capital—all underscore the case.

In this way, Trump conjures the



memory of an important figure from the 19th century, one of the pioneers of political anti-Semitism. Karl Lueger served as mayor of Vienna and was a founder Austria's Christian Social Party. A shrewd opportunist who was later admired by Adolf Hitler, Lueger was happy to exploit growing resentment against wealthy Jewish capitalists and poorer Jews alike. Lueger was renowned for working both sides of the aisle. More strident anti-Semites took him to task for having many Jewish friends. "I decide who is a Jew," he famously remarked. Similarly, Trump embraces Jewish allies of his own, including Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and right-wing casino mogul Sheldon Adelson.

Complex developments can give hate an open road in our society. Karl Lueger also had no idea of the demons he had helped unleash.

Benjamin, a former coordinator for counter-terrorism at the U.S. Department of State, is director of the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding at Dartmouth College

MOVING PAST GRIEF

BY MALCOLM GRAHAM

THE LAST COUPLE of days have been like déjà vu: an unhinged white guy, middle-aged, filled with hate and rage. Only this time he walked into a synagogue, not a church, and pulled out a gun and started shooting. He killed people simply because they were there and they were Jewish. It's the same as what happened in Charleston, S.C., the same senseless reason my sister, Cynthia Hurd, and eight other parishioners died at Mother Emanuel church: they were there and they were black.

In both cases, a gun was the tool that the perpetrator used. But the motivations were hate and racism and discrimination, part of an emerging white-nationalist movement that for years was bubbling under the surface. It has now reared its ugly head in a very public way, and we all must confront what it means.

THE ISSUE for our country is twofold: Yes, we need to have a national conversation about commonsense gun laws. But more important, we need to have a conversation about hate and racism. It's uncomfortable, but we need to address it.

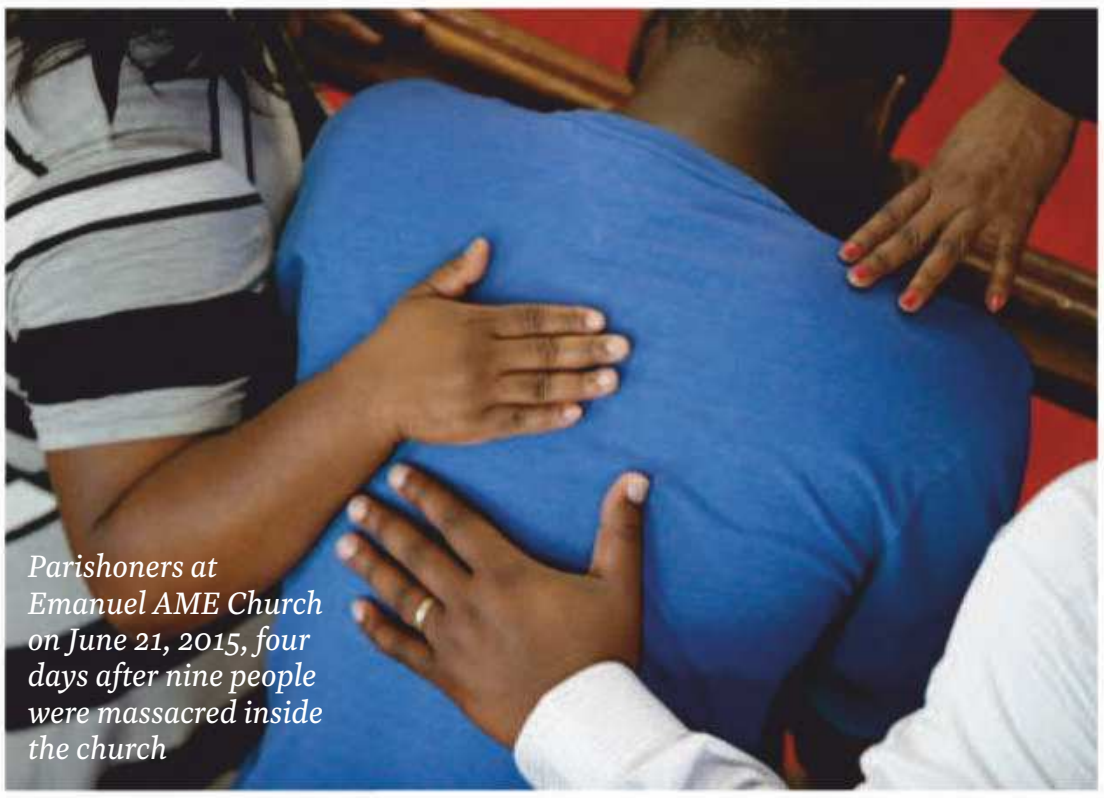
Unfortunately, the President of the United States doesn't have the moral leadership to lead on this issue. So we're going to approach the problem from the bottom up, in local communities and houses of worship, through city councils and county commissions, in our middle and high schools. I'm convinced that if the people will lead, the leaders will follow.

But it will take more than hope. Hope is not a strategy. We need to hold ourselves accountable as citizens of this country. We need to hold our elected officials accountable for what they say and what they do—and what they don't do. And we need to prosecute people to the fullest extent of the law when they break it.

Our tomorrow needs to be better than today. And it can be. It will be challenging to get there. Some people will be offended. Some people will lose friends. But we can't back down.

In times like these, we run toward our faith and we cling to it. But as we move forward, we've got to get up off our knees after praying, wipe our eyes and get to work.

Graham is a former North Carolina state senator



Parishoners at Emanuel AME Church on June 21, 2015, four days after nine people were massacred inside the church

MATTHEW SHEPARD'S LASTING LEGACY

The fence near Laramie, Wyo., where Matthew Shepard was left tied and beaten

STEVE LISS—THE LIFE IMAGES COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

ON OCT. 26, A DAY BEFORE THE MASS shooting at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, the ashes of Matthew Shepard, the 21-year-old University of Wyoming student who in 1998 was beaten and left to die tied to a fence, were interred at the National Cathedral in Washington. Shepard's parents, Dennis and Judy, have spent the two decades since their son's death fighting for LGBTQ rights. Before the interment, **KATIE COURIC** sat down with the Shepards for an extended conversation about hate and healing, and she spoke with them again after Pittsburgh.

An edited excerpt is below. Watch the interview at **time.com/matthew-shepard**

I know Matt told you he was gay when he was 18. But some people may not remember what it was like for a young gay man in America 20 years ago.

Dennis Shepard: It's the same fear they have in today's America that we didn't have two years ago. We're right back to the same haunting that something's going to happen.

Judy Shepard: The vitriol, the epithet shouting, the beatings, they've picked up again.

One report found an 86% increase in hate homicides against LGBTQ people in 2017.

D.S.: Because they feel empowered, and it's O.K. to do that. It's open season, a "no harm, no foul"–type situation.

How do we prevent these types of incidents from happening?

J.S.: You're not born knowing how to hate. And you're not born knowing how to love. You learn them both. When you have a bully in school, who insists on picking on other young people, they're doing that for a reason. Either they themselves are being bullied, or something is going on in their life that's making them want to act out. We need to find out what that is or we've not solved any problems. A zero-tolerance policy never works. You send the bully home, he's playing video games. He comes back to school. What has changed for him? Nothing.

A very ugly side of America surfaced after Matt's murder. Was it maddening for you to see members of the anti-gay Westboro Baptist Church protesting at his funeral?

D.S.: I love them, personally. Whenever they would show up on college campuses, the college would start having a rally. For every minute they're there, there'd be dollars donated to stuff like the local LGBT resource center. And the college kids in those days are now mid- and upper-level management and professionals, and they took that activism with them. Which is why I see corporations these days having benefits for domestic partnership. So they were our best rallying point to help us in our cause for equality.

How do you feel about such hate resurfacing 20 years later, in Pittsburgh?

D.S.: Hate, of all kinds, is just below the surface. It erupts into the public view and attention when the haters are allowed to not only come out in public, but are allowed to stay in public and to publicly demonstrate their hate in words and actions. This freedom for haters was on full display in Pittsburgh during the Tree of Life synagogue tragedy.

You established the Matthew Shepard Foundation after your son's

death. What kind of work have you been focusing on?
J.S.: When we originally incorporated, we thought we would work in the education arena with young people. We felt at the time they were the ones that needed the most encouragement and empowerment. But right this minute we're working on hate crimes. Matt's name is on the federal hate-crimes-prevention act, signed into law in 2009, that now protects the LGBTQ community. It was a milestone for us, but certainly our work was not done.

Can you help people know Matt a little better? What do you want people to understand about him?
J.S.: He loved politics. He had a very deep understanding at a very young age how important it was to be involved in the process. He was just really fun and smart. He just wanted to be around people and share experiences. The world lost something when they lost Matt.

IN DARKNESS, WE MUST BE THE LIGHT

BY EDDIE S. GLAUDE JR.

AMERICA REACHED A KIND of consensus around race after the street fights and legal battles of the 1960s. The naked racism of the previous generation was banished. The likes of the John Birch Society were made outcasts in our politics. But that didn't mean that prejudice was stripped from the national discourse. The guardrails were simply shifted. "Niggers" were replaced by "welfare queens," and defenses of segregation gave way to concerns about crime and affirmative action.

Such coded speech and racial dog whistles allowed Janus-faced politicians to decry bigotry in one moment while exploiting hatred and fear in another. Their softened tone obscured what still lurked beneath: the belief that the country belonged, and always will belong, to white people.

Donald Trump has done away with that politesse. Just as he threw away the post–World War II Western order for his "America first" foreign policy, he has snubbed the post–civil rights consensus with explicit appeals to the darker angels and deepest fears of white people. Unashamedly, he exploits gnawing cultural insecurities as the country faces profound demographic shifts.

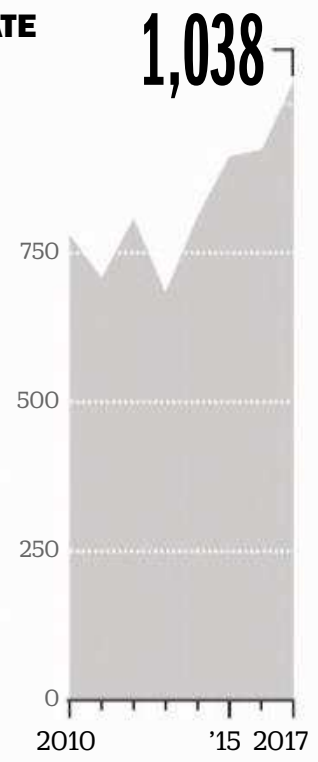
WE KNOW NOW the true danger of the serpent lurking beneath our politics. The terror of the pipe bombs, the brutality of Jeffersontown, Ky., and the carnage in Pittsburgh have made it tragically clear. A hospital administrator reported that when Robert Bowers arrived at the emergency room after his rampage at the Tree of Life synagogue, he shouted, "I want to kill all the Jews." He believed Jews were supporting the caravan of "illegal immigrants" threatening to infest the country and to destroy white people. Eleven beautiful human beings were left dead in the wake of his delusion. Alleged mail bomber Cesar Sayoc was obsessed with George Soros, the 88-year-old billionaire Democratic donor and Holocaust survivor. And after failing to enter a black church in Jeffersontown, police said, Gregory Bush wantonly killed two black people at a supermarket nearby. Bush reportedly spared one man because "whites don't kill whites."

The belief that white people matter more than others connects these three horrible events. This belief has distorted our democratic principles and disfigured the souls of so many Americans. Each of these men acted cruelly in defense of it. Trump didn't invent this belief, of course, but he exploits it daily.

The illusion of innocence no longer holds. Thirteen people died senselessly in the span of a week. We must confront the abject ugliness that lurks beneath our cherished way of life, because it's now in the open for all to see. What is clear, at least to me, is that appeals to the tone of our politics will do little. In fact, such appeals will only lead us, once again, to lie to ourselves or to bury our heads in the sand. These are dark times. And more than ever, we must be the light.

Glaude, the James S. McDonnell Distinguished University Professor at Princeton University, is the author of Democracy in Black: How Race Still Enslaves the American Soul

THE STATE OF HATE
Crimes incited by hate are rising steeply, according to a Justice Department survey of major cities. Tallying victims nationwide, the Department calculates 250,000 a year.



Hate crimes recorded in the 10 largest cities

SOURCE: CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, SAN BERNARDINO

WHEN LEADERSHIP FAILS

BY JON MEACHAM

George Washington understood the stakes. "As the first of everything," Washington wrote, whatever he did, substantially as well as stylistically, would "serve to establish a precedent."

In 1790, the first full year of Washington's presidency, John Adams captured the cultural as well as the political significance of the office, writing: "His person, countenance, character, and actions, are made the daily contemplation and conversation of the whole people." Adams' great rival Thomas Jefferson agreed. "In a government like ours," Jefferson wrote, "it is the duty of the Chief-magistrate, in order to enable himself to do all the good which his station requires, to endeavor, by all honorable means, to unite in himself the confidence of the whole people."

On the eve of the two-year anniversary of the election of the 45th President, it's clear that Donald Trump has no compelling interest in leading what the founders thought of as "the whole people." Washington created the framework for the office, and most (though not all) of his successors understood, as Harry Truman put it, that "you can't divide the country up into sections . . . and you can't encourage people's prejudices. You have to appeal to people's best instincts, not their worst ones." Today, words like Truman's seem to come from the remotest of eras.

In the wake of the attempted mail bombings of a wide range of those whom Trump has frequently targeted, including former Presidents, the fatal shooting of two African Americans in a grocery store in Kentucky and the massacre at the Tree of Life synagogue, many Americans are asking a tragically now familiar question: What can we do in an era of rising white supremacy when we have a President who not only refuses to curb his sulfurous rhetoric but who threatens, as he recently did, to "tone it up"?

WE NOW KNOW as surely as anything is knowable in human affairs that Trump is determined to be a force for division, not for unity. He has no apparent interest in rising to the historical moment. To him, the presidency seems to be a reality show—a lark in which narcissism and nationalism are inextricably intertwined. "The President," Woodrow Wilson once observed, "is at liberty, both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can."

Or, as we are seeing now, as small. So the national task is this: How can the country find a reasonable equilibrium of temperament that will check and balance the climate of division on which Trump thrives? Given the centrality of the presidency in much of our history, it's a difficult question but an essential one, and much turns on whether we can find a compelling answer. My own view is that we must attempt, insofar as possible, to focus our civic energy not on the President's heart and mind—those seem a lost cause—but on our own. The nature of a republic is shaped by the mysterious and complicated interplay between the leaders and the led, and experience and philosophy teach us that popular governments often mirror as much as they mold who we are.

An uncomfortable thought for many of us, but candor compels us to confront it. Though Trump is a novel President, he represents—indeed embodies—ancient and perennial forces of political, racial and cultural fear. Yes, America is the nation that produced Harriet Tubman and Martin Luther King Jr. It's also the nation that pursued and perpetuated enslavement and institutionalized racism to such a prolonged degree that it took a Tubman and a King to bring about a measure of justice. And justice takes a long time to come—and when it comes, it's difficult to hold on to. Still, as Frederick Douglass said, "I know of no soil better adapted to the growth of reform than American soil."

That a republic is the sum of its parts is an insight with deep roots. "Machiavelli, discoursing on these matters," the 17th century English theorist and politician Algernon Sidney wrote, "finds virtue to be so essentially necessary to the establishment and preservation of liberty, that he thinks it impossible for a corrupted people to set up a good government, or for a tyranny to be introduced, if they be virtuous." Three hundred years and an American republic later, Truman was blunter. "The country has to awaken every now and then to the fact that the people are responsible for the government they get," the 33rd President observed. "And when they elect a man to the presidency who doesn't take care of the job, they've got nobody to blame but themselves."

The best historical analogy to our current moment offers little reassurance. In the presidency of Andrew Johnson the nation faced a crisis over whether it

BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

As Trump visited Pittsburgh on Oct. 30, protesters gathered near the Tree of Life synagogue

would heed the implications of the Union victory in the Civil War. After Lincoln's assassination, Johnson fought a prolonged rearguard action against equality, vetoing key Reconstruction legislation and opposing the 14th Amendment.

"White men alone must manage the South," Johnson said, and he issued what the historian Eric Foner has called "probably the most blatantly racist pronouncement ever to appear in an official state paper of an American President," asserting that blacks were incapable of self-government. "No independent government of any form has ever been successful in their hands," Johnson wrote in his 1867 annual message. "On the contrary, wherever they have been left to their own devices they have shown a constant tendency to relapse into barbarism." He attacked Congress relentlessly, sowed fears of conspiracy and cast himself as a victim of evil forces.

Johnson's Trump-like defiance of norms did not create racism, of course, but it did affirm it. And the capitulation of the governing class in 1877—giving Republican Rutherford B. Hayes the presidency in exchange for the withdrawal of federal troops from the South Carolina and Louisiana statehouses—meant Jim Crow would endure for nearly a century.

SO IS TRUMP the harbinger of a new dark age? Not if We the People engage fully and consistently in the arena. The demographic and cultural trends that will continue to produce a more diverse America are irreversible. Andrew Johnson governed a vastly majority-white nation; Trump is more likely the end of something, not the beginning.

But only if the people force the issue and endure. Cold comfort? Perhaps, but it's just about all we have—and just about what we've always had. "One thing I believe profoundly: *We make our own history,*" Eleanor Roosevelt wrote shortly before her 1962 death. "The course of history is directed by the choices we make and our choices grow out of the ideas, the beliefs, the values, the dreams of the people. It is not so much the powerful leaders that determine our destiny as the much more powerful influence of the combined voice of the people themselves."

After his own single term as President, John Adams wrote that "the people … ought to consider the President's office as the indispensable guardian of their rights," adding: "The people cannot be too careful in the choice of their Presidents." History and experience suggest that, in moments where care fails, we must undertake the duties of guardianship ourselves. We are living in just such a moment.

Meacham is the author of The Soul of America: The Battle for Our Better Angels

MAY THEIR MEMORY BE A LESSON

BY DEBORAH E. LIPSTADT

I WAS AT A RESORT OUTSIDE PHOENIX preparing for an uncharacteristically—for me, that is—relaxing day. Armed with a stack of books (admittedly, most of them dealt with the Holocaust), I had planned a day of sitting by a pool and reading.

As I crossed the grounds, a woman who had heard me speak the previous night about contemporary anti-Semitism, approached: "Your words were prescient." Sensing my confusion, she added, "The shooting. Pittsburgh. The synagogue." I immediately turned to CNN and learned of the unfolding tragedy.

As we now know, 11 Jews at Tree of Life synagogue were gunned down. Some were probably there for spiritual reasons: to worship God, hear words of Torah and pray for the sick. Others were there for fellowship: to see fellow Jews and catch up on the week's events. (A Jewish pundit once said: My neighbor Jacob goes to synagogue to talk to God. I, a nonbeliever, go to talk to Jacob.)

Those Jews, the "regulars" as they are called in synagogue parlance, were the victims. Some were gunned down at the entrance as they donned their prayer shawls and prepared to enter the sanctuary. Others were killed inside what that morning would be anything but a sanctuary.

Among the victims were many elderly. For who gets to synagogue on time? Those without kids to dress and meal tables to set. Those who, living alone, consider the synagogue their "club." They also know that a minyan, or prayer quorum—which in this Conservative synagogue is 10 adult Jews—is necessary to say the Kaddish, the traditional prayer said by mourners. Having reached their eighth or ninth decade, they have needed that quorum in the past—for parents, siblings and even children. They come early to enable other Jews to mourn their losses.

Today they are the ones we mourn.

THERE IS AN IRONY about this tragedy. Now is, arguably, a golden age for American Jews. Universities that once enforced quotas limiting enrollment of Jewish students have presidents who are Jews. Resorts that once forbade Jews host Passover retreats. Law firms that once rejected Jewish applicants now ensure that kosher food is available at partners' meetings. Structural anti-Semitism, the kind of anti-Semitism practiced by governments and institutions, is at an unprecedented low.

But that is only half the story. Acts of anti-Semitism have increased exponentially in recent years. American Jews have expressed heightened concerns about this. Yet they may have a myopic view of the problem. Many American Jews worry about anti-Semitism that comes from the political left. They see those on the left vilifying Israel in a fashion that is applied to no other country. Sometimes they see Jews denied something denied to no other people, a national identity.

But the organized community has not shown the same concerns about anti-Semitism on the right. In recent decades there has been a rise in hate groups. We witnessed an uptick during the Obama Administration, possibly as a right-wing response to having an African American as President. These groups emerged with newfound strength during the 2016 presidential campaign. They now feel they have gained a certain legitimacy in the eyes of the government. I do not mean to suggest that the Administration is explicitly saying their nationalism and white supremacy are acceptable. The suggestions are far from explicit—e.g., there were "very fine people on both sides" in Charlottesville. Their vision of America is one that is white and Christian. And Jews should not deceive themselves for a moment. In these folks' eyes Jews are neither.

The vast majority of these anti-Semites, however vile their ideas, would never commit violence. However, there are the extremists. For these deranged, hate-laden folks, their

Gene Tabachnick, a friend of the slain brothers David and Cecil Rosenthal, stands near their graves during a burial ceremony in Pittsburgh

SALWAN GEORGES—THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES

leaders' divisive rhetoric becomes verbal ammunition that inspires them to build pipe bombs or take AR-15s into a synagogue.

If the murder of 11 innocent people can teach us anything, what lessons might we learn?

DO NOT LOOK for haters only on the other side of the political transom. Those on the political left who see anti-Semitism only on the right have blinded themselves to what is happening in their own midst. Those on the political right who are concerned only about the "lefties" on campus and beyond are blind to what is happening next to them.

We may never change the minds of people who send pipe bombs, but we can stop them from influencing others. This year, at Thanksgiving dinner, when your curmudgeon uncle or successful cousin (not all haters are old and ornery) begins to rant about Jews, blacks, Muslims and LGBTQs who are ruining this country, do not sit idly by. Challenge them. Do so not to change their minds but to reach others who are listening and learning. Silence is an imprimatur for hate and prejudice.

Do not think this attack is only about Jews. It may start with the Jews, but it never ends there. And conversely, it may start with others—Muslims, African Americans, LGBTQ-identifying folks—but it will ultimately reach Jews. Lost in the legitimate media attention to the Pittsburgh attack was the murder a few days earlier of two African Americans by a white man. He had tried to gain access to a predominantly African-American church but found the doors locked. Instead he went to a nearby supermarket and killed two black senior citizens.

In Jewish tradition, upon mourning the dead, we say: May their memory be for a blessing. Today we should say: May the memory of all those killed and the suffering of those who have been wounded be for a blessing and for a lesson, a lesson we ignore at our personal, national and moral risk.

Lipstadt is Dorot Professor of Holocaust Studies at Emory University and author of the forthcoming Antisemitism: Here and Now

Jair Bolsonaro, surrounded by federal police, after voting in Rio de Janeiro on Oct. 28

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LEO CORREA

BRAZIL'S SHOCK TO THE SYSTEM

President-elect Bolsonaro swept in from the far right

BY MATT SANDY/RIO DE JANEIRO

THE DIN IN BRAZIL'S LOWER HOUSE OF Congress was so loud the seven-term Congressman running for Speaker could barely be heard. His colleagues paid little attention, many speaking over him. Unperturbed, Jair Messias Bolsonaro forged on, waving a newspaper as he railed against his ineffective contemporaries.

The former army captain, then 62, won just four of the 504 votes that day in February 2017, a result that seemed to confirm his irrelevance in Brazilian politics. Yet an aide was streaming his diatribe live on Facebook, where it received 450,000 views and accelerated his nascent political movement. Just 21 months later, Bolsonaro has the full attention not only of Brazil, but of a wary world: he was elected President on Oct. 28 with nearly 58 million votes.

It was a political earthquake. For Latin America's largest nation, the impact of a far-right candidate's assuming control of its young democracy rivals the election of Donald Trump to the U.S. or the Brexit vote to Europe. Bolsonaro, initially known mainly for his hateful invective at women, gays and racial minorities, rode a storm of anger at a deeply corrupt political class, at the country's worst-ever recession and one of the highest homicide rates on earth.

Bolsonaro supporters in front of his Rio de Janeiro residence after his win was announced

"That chaos was paid for by poorer people without resources. Unemployment and violence hit them more," says Rodrigo Constantino, a political commentator. Brazil's elite live in a bubble, he adds. "They interact with the same people, read the same newspapers, eat the same food, go to the same places and lost touch with the people."

On the campaign trail, Bolsonaro promised to meet violence with greater violence, playing to the fears of a population traumatized by 175 murders a day. He spoke of a future free from the corruption and crime many voters associated with the establishment in general, and specifically his opponent Fernando Haddad's Workers' Party, which led Brazil for 13 of the past 15 years.

Charlo Ferreson, a 45-year-old Bolsonaro campaigner, expressed the anger that many in Brazil felt at the political class. "Whoever didn't win the elections, didn't listen to the streets," she said. "The other parties thought they had a monopoly [on power] and would get what they wanted. How many lifelong politicians weren't elected? This is the result of our work."

The question is what Brazil will look like under a President who has lionized Brazil's 1964–85 dictatorship, when state-sanctioned torture and murder was rife. He told TIME in an August interview that he now fully endorses democracy, although he intends to appoint several generals to key ministerial positions. But his pledge did not stop him threatening his left-wing opponents less than two weeks ago with exile or jail. "When facing grave difficulties, our country has repeatedly chosen authoritarianism," says historian Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, the co-author of *Brazil: A Biography,* citing colonialism and slavery as factors that created a patrimonial, highly violent society. "This bet on Bolsonaro now comes as no surprise."

Others doubt Bolsonaro will embrace autocracy now that he has won power by democratic means. "We have strong institutions with strong communications, an active civil society and a military that is neutral and distant from politics," says Jairo Nicolau, a political scientist at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. "This is not a banana republic."

Yet human-rights defenders, civil rights groups and environmentalists fear the direction Brazil will go under its new President. The election led to an alarming spike in aggression against the LGBT community and leftists (and, in fact, against Bolsonaro himself who was stabbed in the abdomen while campaigning). Journalists alone have faced 141 instances of threats or violence. "Bolsonaro said if we don't leave the country, he will throw us in jail," says Diva Santana of Tortura Nunca Mais, a group that is still fighting for justice for those tortured and "disappeared" by the military regime 33 years after it ended. "But I'm not leaving. I'm not afraid of him, not a little bit." Júlio Moreira of Grupo Arco-Íris, a national LGBT association, took the opposite view. "We may have to self-exile in order to reconstruct the country later," he said, expressing fears of homophobic attacks. "It is more important to survive and guarantee our rights down the line." Environmental groups say his promise to give carte blanche to loggers, miners and agribusiness in the Amazon rain forest could increase attacks on environmental defenders; 46 were killed in Brazil last year.

> 'WE MAY HAVE TO SELF-EXILE IN ORDER TO RECONSTRUCT THE COUNTRY LATER.'
>
> —**JÚLIO MOREIRA**, LGBT activist

Although Bolsonaro has yet to announce a detailed policy blueprint, he pledged to address Brazil's record homicide rate, which hit 63,880 in 2017, by relaxing gun laws and giving police more freedom to kill. That will only make matters worse, says Sílvia Ramos of the Center for Studies on Public Security and Citizenship. "Only someone who is in despair would think that introducing more guns, more police brutality and more incarceration will lead to a reduction in criminality," she added. But some who live in Brazil's most crime-ridden urban areas say things can't get much worse. Charle Lima, 23, who lives in a Rio de Janeiro favela, said revolutionary solutions are called for. "We only respect what we fear.

Unfortunately, that's the way it works. The country will only change if something radical happens," he said.

Then there's Brazil's economy, which is saddled with a crippling budgetary deficit and hefty unemployment rates. Bolsonaro has promised to pull Brazil out of crisis by privatizing state companies, pushing through a painful reform of the pension system and opening Brazil further to foreign investors, moves that won him crucial business support. But the left is likely to resist that with widespread labor action beginning in January, predicts João Luiz Mauad, director of the Instituto Liberal think tank. "These won't be easy times for the President and for the country."

That may give Bolsonaro a confrontation he would relish. But it remains to be seen whether the army of enthusiastic supporters he built up over the election would stand by him if he decides to remake Brazil entirely. Polls show most Bolsonaro voters do not actually share his radical views, but wanted to cause a huge upheaval in the political system. On that front at least, Brazil's new President has already delivered. —*With reporting by* SHANNA HANBURY/RIO DE JANEIRO ☐

AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

VIEWPOINT

Brazil joins the league of strongmen nations

By Ian Bremmer

When Donald Trump was first elected U.S. President, there were few like-minded elected leaders in other countries. Seated next to unapologetic globalists like Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel and Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, Trump always seemed the odd man out—and more so after President Emmanuel Macron's election in France six months after his. Trump's unapologetic, sometimes belligerent nationalism made him an awkward aberration and a problem the globalists wanted to solve. Things have changed. In one polarized nation after another, strongmen are now in vogue. While Macron suffers domestically and Merkel plans to wrap up her chancellorship of Germany by 2021, populist nationalists are thriving at the top of the world's largest democracies—from Trump himself to India's Narendra Modi to the Philippines' Rodrigo Duterte to Italy's strongman Deputy Prime Minister Matteo Salvini. To that list, we can now add Brazil and Jair Bolsonaro.

MOST MEDIA COVERAGE of Bolsonaro's decisive victory in Brazil has focused on his macho rhetoric, confrontational style and promises to sweep his country clean of urban crime and endemic political corruption. But his views on foreign policy also represent a sharp break with Brazil's recent past.

During 13 years of Workers' Party governments led by former Presidents Luis Inacio Lula da Silva and then Dilma Rousseff, Brazil embraced its role as emerging-market heavyweight of the Americas and a brake on U.S. regional hegemony. With fellow BRICS countries Russia, India, China and South Africa, Brazil's government offered a counterweight to U.S. authority.

Bolsonaro sees things differently. The man sometimes nicknamed the Trump of the Tropics has publicly expressed admiration for the U.S. President and vows to improve relations with Washington. He applauded Trump's controversial decision to move the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and says Brazil will do the same. He also plans to shut down the Palestinian Embassy in Brasilia. Like Trump, he's a critic of large multilateral institutions. In Brazil's case, that means less investment in the South American trade bloc Mercosur and more bilateral trade deals, like the ones Trump has said he hopes to forge with Japan and with post-Brexit Britain.

Bolsonaro also takes a Trump-like view of China and its trade practices. Nearly a decade ago, China became Brazil's largest trade partner, but Bolsonaro sees this less as a historic opportunity than as a growing threat. Like his U.S. counterpart, he accuses China of predatory trade practices. China is welcome to buy Brazil's abundant agricultural products, he argues, but its attempts to invest in strategic sectors like energy and infrastructure are bad for Brazil and no longer welcome.

YET THERE ARE key differences between the U.S. and Brazilian Presidents. Unlike his 43 predecessors, Trump never served in government or the military before becoming President; Bolsonaro is a veteran of both. Trump's presidency is in part a product of the U.S. culture wars; Bolsonaro's win reflects widespread public disgust with years of political scandal and record levels of violent crime. But what they share is the ability to draw power by explicitly pitting one group of citizens against another and offering themselves as the only credible solution to their country's problems. It's the same talent that has allowed Duterte, Salvini and others to thrive.

The question now is whether these like-minded nationalists will work together on the international stage, perhaps to destabilize or counterbalance the interests of multilateral institutions like the E.U. or the U.N. In reality, there seems little chance of that. While globalists see virtue in cooperation, nationalists don't. They see no advantage in sharing values. They share interests only until those interests conflict. In that sense, Bolsonaro's victory is one step deeper into a world of every nation for itself.

Christine and Larry Callahan, with kids Claire, 5, and Andrew, 11, in front of their home in Cleveland's northeast suburbs

PHOTOGRAPH BY WILLIAM WIDMER FOR TIME

Politics

The Health Care Voters

Anxiety over the rising cost of insurance has become a defining issue in the 2018 election

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS/ MENTOR, OHIO

Kevin Johnson, the president of a precision tool–manufacturing shop in Mentor, Ohio, pins a new bar graph to the bulletin board across from his desk each month. It shows the cost-to-income ratio at his company, Fischer Special Tooling, and it's not a pretty picture. Expenses are rising while revenues decline;

the image slopes painfully to the right. Johnson, who's tall and lean and has an engineer's no-nonsense manner, rattles off a list of challenges facing the small business that has been in his family since the early 1980s, from a poorly trained labor pool to low-cost foreign competitors. But what's most on his mind these days is health care. "It was killing us," he says.

Johnson slides another graph across his tidy wooden desk. This one shows how much Fischer Special Tooling has spent each year on health care for its 13 employees. For years, the figure climbed by an average of 8.5% annually, peaking at $96,000 in 2016. But since then, costs have steadily declined. This year, the company spent $60,000 on health care: a 25% decrease from two years ago. One big reason, Johnson says, is the Affordable Care Act (ACA), better known as Obamacare.

He's not alone. Thanks to various ACA provisions, the overall rise in health care costs has slowed. "I'm not saying the ACA is perfect," says Johnson, 55, who identifies as neither Democrat nor Republican and says he has often voted for candidates of both parties. "I'm saying, let's keep the parts that work and fix the parts that don't."

Finding political leaders with a plan to do that is a high priority for tens of millions of Americans this election season. In poll after poll, voters say access to affordable care is their top concern. An October Kaiser poll found that registered Democratic and independent voters in battleground districts listed health care as the most important issue. With the exception of black women—who said health care was the second most important issue behind racial justice—women of all ages, races and party affiliations cite health care as their foremost priority, according to a poll conducted by TIME and SSRS in August and September.

PREVIOUS PAGES: REDUX; THESE PAGES: AARON P. BERNSTEIN—GETTY IMAGES

For good reason. While the parts of the ACA that work may have helped keep Fischer Special Tooling in business, the parts that don't are crushing American families. Since 2008, the average family's health-insurance premium has increased 55%, twice as fast as wages, and deductibles have tripled. While the ACA has succeeded in extending health care coverage to 20 million people through Medicaid expansions and federal subsidies, it has done very little to keep costs down for many others. "It's fair to say it has failed middle-income Americans," says Larry Levitt, a senior vice president at the nonpartisan Kaiser Family Foundation.

For years, Republicans seemed happy to let Obamacare fail—and even to accelerate the process. The Trump Administration has systematically weakened the ACA, cutting back its patient protections, undermining insurance markets and boosting state decisionmaking at the expense of federal rules. The Administration has also refused to fully defend the ACA against a lawsuit brought by 20 Republican attorneys general and governors, who argued in federal court in September that the entire health care law is invalid.

Protesters urge the Trump Administration to protect people with pre-existing conditions on June 26 in Washington

But in the run-up to the Nov. 6 midterm elections, something interesting has happened. The widespread anxiety about health care has prompted a political shift. On Election Day, conservative voters in Utah, Idaho, Nebraska and Montana are expected to join other moderate states, like Maine and Virginia, in approving ballot measures that extend Medicaid eligibility—contravening Republicans' longtime effort to limit the program. In states like Georgia, Florida and Ohio, efforts to expand access to Medicaid has become a central, and popular, campaign issue. In August, a Reuters/Ipsos survey found that 70% of Americans, including a slim majority of Republican voters, now support some version of the universal health care proposal known as Medicare for All, which was championed by Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders in 2016. Not too long ago, it was considered politically radical.

Now dozens of Republican office holders and candidates this election cycle have abandoned the GOP's long-standing campaign promise to repeal the ACA. Some who once opposed Medicaid expansion, like Ohio Republican gubernatorial hopeful Mike DeWine, have changed their position. Others, including Republican Senate candidates Josh Hawley in Missouri and Patrick Morrisey in West Virginia, as well as Governor Scott Walker in Wisconsin, have promised in campaign speeches to defend the ACA's popular protections for people with pre-existing conditions. But they also stop short of reconciling that campaign position with their ongoing support for the Republican lawsuit that would dismantle Obamacare.

Democrats are seizing on the political opportunity this shift has presented them. After years of tiptoeing around Obamacare's dismal approval ratings, the party is suddenly embracing health care on the trail: 61% of pro-Democratic House ads from Sept. 18 to Oct. 15 mentioned health care, compared with just 10% of all Democratic ads in 2016, according to the Wesleyan Media Project. "It's a powerful issue," says Brad Woodhouse, a longtime Democratic operative and the executive director of the health care advocacy group Protect Our Care. "Republicans' opposition to health care has become an anvil around their necks—and a political gift to us."

AMERICANS WHO VOTE on health care issues are often intimately familiar with the wonkier aspects of the Affordable Care Act. Speaking quietly in a living room in Hudson, Ohio, Christine Callahan, who manages a small family-run flooring business with her husband Larry, lays out the list of issues that are most important to her this election, including preserving a prohibition on lifetime caps for insurance

and ensuring affordable access to coverage for people with pre-existing conditions. For her family, Callahan tells TIME, the prospect of losing those ACA protections is "as scary as it gets."

The Callahans, who buy their family's health care coverage on the market, have an 11-year-old son, Andrew, who was born with an undiagnosed genetic condition that has left him immobile and unable to speak. Andrew requires constant care and an expensive wheelchair. His antiseizure medicine alone costs $1,800 per month. To Callahan, the Republican lawsuit to dismantle Obamacare and the Trump Administration's ongoing efforts to weaken patient protections are a threat to her family. Without the ACA provisions that dictate her family's insurance plan, she says, "I honestly don't know what we would do."

Like Kevin Johnson, the Callahans live in Ohio's 14th District, which stretches along Lake Erie, encompassing both Cleveland suburbs and more industrial areas. It's a Republican-leaning district that Barack Obama lost by less than a point in 2008 and Trump won by 11 in 2016. Since 2013 it has been represented in the U.S. House by Republican Dave Joyce, who campaigned back then on a promise to eliminate Obamacare. Joyce voted to repeal the ACA 31 times—a record he once touted proudly on his website.

But this year Joyce is singing a different tune. Facing an unexpectedly stiff challenge from Democrat Betsy Rader, a civil rights attorney and former health care lawyer, Joyce has recently campaigned on his decision to vote against his fellow Republicans' attempt to repeal the ACA last year. "When Republican leaders in Congress tried to take away protections for people with pre-existing conditions, I said no," he said in an August political ad that ran locally. His previous voting record on repealing Obamacare also no longer appears on his site. Two months later, Joyce seemed to return to his previous position. "I'd vote to repeal [the ACA] tomorrow," the Congressman told the *Wall Street Journal* in October. (Joyce's campaign did not respond to TIME's multiple requests for an interview.) A large number of his constituents benefit directly from Obamacare: last year, roughly 33,000 people in Ohio's 14th received health coverage through the law, according to Kaiser.

Threats to do away with the elements of Obamacare that are working are only part of the problem for the GOP this year. The party has also failed to follow through on its promise to fix what hasn't worked with the law. In 2017, despite controlling both houses of Congress and the presidency, the GOP failed to muster enough votes to deliver on its long-standing promise to "repeal and replace" Obamacare. Dozens of Republican lawmakers, like Joyce, who favored repealing the ACA when they knew Obama would veto the effort ultimately voted against Republican leaders' attempts to tank the law, in part because they had no program to offer in its place.

Republicans have nonetheless succeeded in hobbling the ACA, stripping away its tax base, unraveling some of its most powerful provisions and destabilizing its insurance markets. Over the past year, the GOP canceled funding for the Obamacare provision that requires all Americans to have health insurance; created new, slimmed-down plans that cost less but don't cover much; scrapped a $10 billion subsidy to insurers for covering the sickest customers; and cut the law's budget for advertising—all moves that have weakened the public insurance market.

WILLIAM WIDMER—REDUX FOR TIME

The Callahans do stretches with son Andrew, who was born with a genetic disorder

Last October, the Trump Administration pushed through new rules that free states to dodge some of Obamacare's most important provisions. The new state-based rules, which will go into effect as early as next year, could permit insurers to exclude people with pre-existing conditions or charge them higher premiums. States could also decide to permit insurers to refuse to cover things like maternity care, mental-health care or prescription drugs, which are currently required under the ACA. "It leaves the door open for states to do an end run around the ACA," says Levitt of the Kaiser Family Foundation.

Such efforts have reshaped Obamacare in ironic ways. The GOP has undermined the free-market parts of the ACA—the exchanges on which private insurers compete to sell health plans to citizens—while inadvertently strengthened the federal government's role in the law. For example, citizens who now receive coverage through Obamacare's Medicaid expansion have been unaffected by Republican efforts to destabilize the markets. That population doesn't purchase insurance plans on the exchanges, so they don't care how expensive the premiums in those plans are. Even those who do buy their insurance through the exchanges are for the most part unaffected by the GOP moves. Because roughly 83% of them receive federal subsidies that increase every time premiums rise, they too are protected against unstable prices.

The result is a deeply dysfunctional system. The federal government now spends tens of billions each year subsidizing millions of Americans' health care coverage on the public exchanges. That's much more expensive than simply offering those same people coverage under Medicare or Medicaid, according to independent analyses of the law. Meanwhile, the roughly 1.3 million people who do still buy insurance on the exchanges but whose incomes are too high to qualify for federal subsidies must choose between expensive plans and going without insurance entirely. Roughly 16% of nonelderly Americans lack health insurance today, according to the Commonwealth Fund. That's down from 20% in 2013, the year before most of the ACA went into effect, but up from just 13% in 2016.

ON A COOL, SUNNY DAY in late September, about four dozen voters gathered in a well-appointed living room in the upscale Cleveland suburb of Hudson, Ohio, to meet Rader. The Democratic candidate's short speech covered the party's key talking points, from curbing corruption to protecting the environment. But Rader's primary message was safeguarding health care. "It's the most important issue to families here," Rader tells TIME, sitting behind the desk in her small campaign office a short drive away, in Willoughby, Ohio. "People are literally terrified at the prospect of losing protections for pre-existing conditions."

Like many Democratic candidates running in Republican districts this cycle, Rader's solution is a reflection of toolmaker Kevin Johnson's admonition to keep what works and fix what doesn't. Rader wants to preserve the ACA's Medicaid expansion and other patient protections. And to combat rising costs, she wants to allow middle-class families to purchase a relatively inexpensive Medicare plan on the ACA exchanges, in the same way they can now purchase private insurance there. Rader's proposal, which is often known as the public option or Medicare-X, has

Democratic incumbents in red states are campaigning this year to protect a law that was a political liability in past elections

been around for years. (It was originally popularized by two moderate Democrats, Senators Tim Kaine of Virginia and Michael Bennet of Colorado.) In 2013, the Congressional Budget Office calculated that such a plan would reduce the federal deficit by $158 billion over a decade; the savings would come from decreasing the amount the government currently pays in federal subsidies to underwrite the purchase of private health plans.

Conservatives have long opposed proposals allowing people to buy into public Medicare or Medicaid plans, painting them as a prelude to socialized medicine. In Ohio's 14th District, Joyce ran ads arguing Rader's support for a public option amounted to a government takeover of health care, a once potent GOP attack line. But the politics are changing, and a growing number of voters are jumping on the "preserve and fix" bandwagon. Legislators in roughly a dozen states have considered proposals that would allow people to purchase plans from state-based Medicaid programs. In New Mexico, legislators recently passed a measure to study how a Medicaid buy-in option would work on its exchange.

Elsewhere, Republicans who have campaigned to repeal Obamacare in its entirety now say they support other provisions designed to protect people with pre-existing conditions. "Republicans will totally protect people with Pre-Existing Conditions, Democrats will not!" President Trump tweeted in October. The President has not explained why, in a court filing in June, his Administration urged a federal court in Texas to specifically strike down the two Obamacare provisions requiring insurers to cover people with pre-existing conditions and preventing them from charging such people higher premiums.

Republican candidates have often failed to explain such contradictions in their positions on health care. In Missouri, for instance, Hawley ran an ad claiming to support protections for people with pre-existing conditions while omitting the fact that he's one of the attorneys general currently challenging the ACA's patient protections. If he wins that lawsuit, federal protections for people with pre-existing conditions would disappear.

Meanwhile, Democratic incumbents in red states are campaigning this year to protect a law that was a political liability in past elections. In West Virginia, Democratic Senator Joe Manchin has gone after his opponent, Morrisey, the former state attorney general, for supporting the lawsuit to dismantle the ACA. In Indiana, Democratic Senator Joe Donnelly is touting his vote last year against repealing Obamacare. "It would have been impossible to imagine red-state Democrats running on protecting the health care law in 2014," says Woodhouse, the Democratic operative. "It's a stunning reversal."

Perhaps the best chance to address voters' demands for solutions to the health care problem is

BEHIND THE POLITICS

More Americans with pre-existing conditions have coverage ...

About 2 in 5 Americans have health histories that could affect their ability to get insurance. Their uninsured rate fell from 14% to 11% under Obamacare.

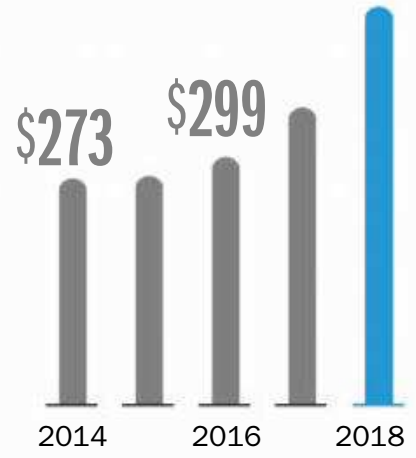
Nonelderly people without coverage, by pre-existing condition

	2010	2014
High blood pressure	7.1M	5.9M
High cholesterol	5.2M	4.4M
Behavioral health disorders	4.6M	3.8M
Asthma/chronic lung disease	4.1M	3.0M

... but costs on the exchanges have risen ...

The average cost of health care premiums for silver plans in the state marketplaces are on the rise. Premiums jumped 34% in 2018.

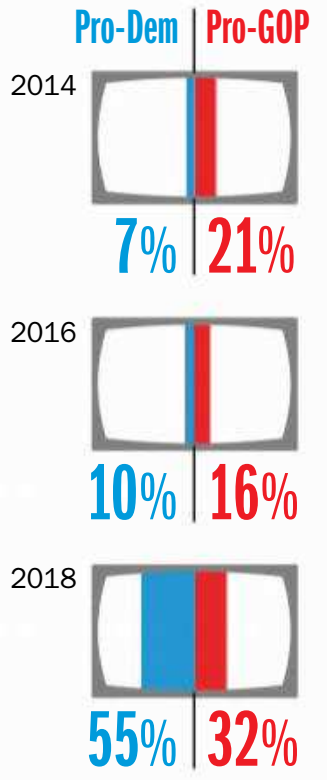
Marketplace average benchmark premiums



... making health care a top issue this election

This election, 46% of political ads for federal races touch on health care. This is up from 20% in 2014 and 14% in 2016. Pro-Democrat ads have driven the shift.

Health care mentions in political ads, Sept. 18 to Oct. 15



SOURCES: HHS; KAISER FAMILY FOUNDATION; WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

MADDIE MCGARVEY—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

Demonstrators campaign on Sept. 3 in Marmet, W.Va., in a Senate race that has centered on health care

coming at the state level. Country-wide, legislators are passing bills that increase access to affordable care by seizing on the most popular components of the ACA. "If you want to fix health care, you need to realize that nothing is going to happen in the U.S. Congress in the near future," says Tom Kise, the senior director of public affairs at a new nonprofit, United States of Care, which works largely at the state level to improve access to affordable care. "It's got to come from the states."

Levitt, the Kaiser health care expert, says recent Republican efforts to unwind the law federally might have the effect of saving it on the state level. By eliminating the ACA's least popular provision, the requirement to buy health insurance, the Republicans have made the law more palatable to many GOP state legislators. And shifting rulemaking power away from the distrusted feds in Washington "might make the law more sustainable in the long run," Levitt says.

The political shift on health care may be accelerating. A majority of Americans now support some version of a single-payer system, according to a Washington *Post*/Kaiser Family Foundation poll released in April. Dozens of top Democrats, including many of the party's 2020 presidential hopefuls, have outright endorsed Medicare for All, the proposal that would allow all Americans, regardless of income or age, to buy into the federal health care program that now serves people over 65.

There is an opportunity for politicians in this moment. Even the voters who have the most at stake in the health care fight, like Johnson or the Callahans, often don't have a specific policy prescription in mind. Back at his desk at Fischer Special Tooling, Johnson says he sees benefits in stabilizing the ACA and expanding access to subsidies. But he also cautions against creating more problems with poorly run government programs. "I'm not conservative. I'm not liberal. I am a member of the Rational Party," he says. "I don't care about politics. I care about creating policies that do what's best for the public good, and that means fixing health care." The candidates who offer a way to do that may well be the ones who win on Nov. 6. ☐

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TimeOff

NEW RULES
Robin Wright's Claire Underwood assumes the presidency on *House of Cards* but still has to live in her husband's shadow

INSIDE

QUEEN'S FREDDIE MERCURY GETS THE BIOPIC TREATMENT

A WRITER RETURNS TO THE GENRE THAT PUT HIM ON THE MAP

A NEW DOCUMENTARY EXPLORES ATHLETIC GREATNESS

TELEVISION

When the show gets renewed—but the star is canceled

By Judy Berman

FOR A SHOW THAT'S BEEN UNHINGED FOR MUCH of its run, Netflix's *House of Cards* can be eerily prescient. The pre-Trump seasons followed ruthless Francis Underwood's (Kevin Spacey) ascension to the presidency as he weathered many scandals that seemingly should have ruined him. Months before Spacey was revealed to be an alleged sexual predator during a paradigm-shifting public reckoning with the sexual misconduct of powerful men, the show had put Frank in the crosshairs. As impeachment loomed, he ceded the Oval to his wife Claire (Robin Wright), trusting that she'd pardon him. But the show's fifth season closed with the newly empowered Claire ignoring Frank's phone call, turning her steely gaze to the camera and proclaiming, "My turn."

In its sixth and final season, arriving on Nov. 2, *House of Cards* makes the most of its foresight, chasing the political zeitgeist more openly than ever. The new episodes—which avoid showing even a still photo of Spacey—give Wright a story line that draws on the same sort of repressed female rage that has powered the #MeToo movement.

Set in the aftermath of Frank's death, the season opens with Claire being briefed on the misogynistic threats and insults that have been hurled at her on the Internet. Soon enough, another speechifying white man, conservative businessman Bill Shepherd (Greg Kinnear), emerges to undermine her. One of Claire's feminist declarations could be the season's tag line: "The reign of the middle-aged white man is over."

It feels like the show is washing its hands of Spacey's alleged sins even as it jumps on the #MeToo bandwagon. Season 6 is threaded with flashbacks to Claire's youth: A crowd of boys takes scissors to her dress. Her mother scolds her for hurting a boy who attacked her, insisting that she must have asked for it. Spacey may be the rare disgraced actor whose accusers are also male, but adopting story lines steeped in less specific Time's Up rhetoric allows the show to symbolically distance itself from him and align itself with more righteous forces in Hollywood. It also, of course, keeps the show from getting canceled.

Darlene (Sara Gilbert) and Jackie (Laurie Metcalf) cope with a conspicuous absence on The Conners

CANCELLATION ISN'T JUST for TV shows anymore. In the past year, accusations of sexual misconduct have caused many stars to be "canceled"—that is, dismissed from public life by their employers, the social-media masses or both. *House of Cards* is just one of several shows that have persisted after such a purge. *Transparent* will film a final season without its lead, Jeffrey Tambor, who faced harassment accusations from co-workers. Netflix fired Danny Masterson from *The Ranch* following multiple rape allegations. Ed Westwick's role in the BBC miniseries *Ordeal by Innocence* was recast before three sexual-assault charges against him were dropped.

But cancellation is a frustratingly inconsistent phenomenon; the threshold for cultural erasure varies widely. Extreme cases like those of Spacey and Harvey Weinstein, who've been accused of sexual violence by victims numbering in the double digits, get canceled quickly enough. Yet while Louis CK lost his FX deal following reports that he'd made women watch him masturbate, James Franco, who skipped this year's Oscars after the Los Angeles *Times* ran accounts of his alleged "inappropriate or sexually exploitative behavior," still stars in HBO's *The Deuce*. While Franco sat out the publicity cycle for the current season, *Mad Men* creator Matthew Weiner didn't do the same: though his career survived harassment allegations, he seemed blindsided by questions about them while promoting his new Amazon show, *The Romanoffs*.

Not every cancellation is a product of #MeToo, as Megyn Kelly recently learned, when her hour on NBC's *Today*

PREVIOUS PAGE: NETFLIX; THE CONNERS: ABC

show was canceled after she questioned whether blackface Halloween costumes were racist. This past spring, Roseanne Barr (whose history of bigoted comments dates back years) got herself and her ABC sitcom canceled with a racist tweet. It clearly pained the network to ax a show that had premiered to some of the decade's highest comedy ratings.

In its wake, last month ABC debuted a spin-off, *The Conners,* which finds the family coping with the opioid-related death of its matriarch. It's the result of a wager that fans would still care about the show in the absence of its protagonist—and that they wouldn't be put off by its association with a problematic star. In the case of *The Conners,* whose Oct. 16 premiere drew fewer viewers than *Roseanne*'s did in March but more viewers than most network comedies now attract, the bet paid off.

Although *House of Cards* and *The Conners* both use abrupt, offscreen deaths to get rid of their canceled leads, those twists affect each show differently. The Underwoods' story is a cartoonish Macbeth riff that kills off characters every season; *Roseanne* was a family sitcom that, while grounded enough to acknowledge that death touches all families, only occasionally addressed such dark themes. It's unlikely anyone misses Frank besides his deranged aide Doug Stamper (Michael Kelly), but Roseanne Conner cemented her place as a TV icon and surrogate mom to a generation long before her creator went far right.

Faced with the dissonance between the real Roseanne Barr, her original character and Roseanne Conner 2.0, *The Conners* opts to mourn the version viewers loved best. More important, despite ABC's odd choice to play Roseanne's absence for suspense, the show depicts the aftermath of her death in a way that feels respectful of her history and true to the surviving characters. The story lines are poignant: Dan's (John Goodman) decades-old anger problem flares up, and he struggles to fill Roseanne's role as family sage. Darlene's daughter Harris (Emma Kenney) regrets fighting with her grandmother. But the dialogue balances out the sadness with the Conners' finely honed gallows humor. "Damn!" Becky exclaims after Dan storms off with a bottle of Roseanne's painkillers that she found. "That's the only thing from Mom's closet I wanted."

> ***'Kevin and I knew each other between action and cut ... We never socialized outside of work.'***
>
> **ROBIN WRIGHT,** on Kevin Spacey after the allegations surfaced

CONSIDERING THE RESPECTIVE universes of these shows, it's surprising that Frank's death makes less narrative sense than Roseanne's does. Yet the apparent ease with which Spacey's evil tactician was bumped off doesn't jibe with a story whose only consistent argument has been that in politics, the person with the least scruples always wins. And Frank's soullessness explains why *House of Cards* fails to wring suspense out of the question of how he died. "I know," says Claire, in the Season 6 premiere. "You want to know what really happened to him." Do we, though? Frank had so many enemies and so few redeeming qualities that any revelation about his murder would elicit little more than a shrug.

Though the show wrote itself into a corner by plumbing the depths of the Underwoods' depravity too early in its run—and has, in recent years, struggled to shock viewers inured to real political news wilder than the Underwoods' scandals—the writing staff isn't wholly to blame for the messiness of the new season. *House of Cards* had already gone into production when Spacey got canceled, presumably forcing the writers to preserve salvageable story lines while taking the plot in unintended directions—and fast. That haste is evident not only in the half-hearted central murder mystery but also in the sloppiness with which it's shoehorned into scripts stuffed with Claire's manipulation of Doug, Bill's manipulation of the Vice President, a Russian collusion thread from Season 5, reporter Tom Hammerschmidt's (Boris McGiver) endless quest to expose the Underwoods and more.

Claire's reinvention as a feminist hero feels misguided too. It's not that her support for women's rights comes out of nowhere; in previous seasons she pushed for legislation to curb sexual assault in the military and went public with a personal abortion story (albeit one tweaked for maximum sympathy). Season 6 is, in part, an inquiry into her true nature, asking whether her progressive ends justify her Machiavellian means, and whether she has the capacity to become a good person now that Frank is gone. The problem is that the character is too compromised after five seasons of bad behavior to be redeemed by her politics.

There are shows that simply can't work without their leads; though the first four seasons of *Transparent* were compelling, the departure of its trans parent seems bound to leave it unmoored. *House of Cards* has a different problem: based on a British miniseries, it had already exceeded its expiration date long before Netflix fired Spacey. Instead of pressing on to contradict its own core philosophy and push a feminist agenda that doesn't fit, its producers might have done better to just cut their losses. A canceled star doesn't have to mean a canceled show. But sometimes pulling the plug is the best way to protect its legacy. ☐

War stories: Pike gets both the steel and the anguish of correspondent Marie Colvin

ESSAY

A woman deeply at war

By Karl Vick

MARIE COLVIN HAD A SWAGGER EVEN BEFORE SHE HAD AN eye patch. As a foreign correspondent for Britain's *Sunday Times,* she didn't answer to a daily deadline. She could follow her instincts to the root of a story, or the place it was inevitably headed. More than once, Colvin emerged with a full notebook in hand from the place every other reporter was waiting to get into.

Homs, Syria, was not that kind of place. In February 2012, the besieged city was too dangerous for most seasoned correspondents. It was where she was killed, by a Syrian rocket, at age 56. The law of averages makes no exception for war correspondents, and Colvin was not averse to risk; one of her eyes was lost to shrapnel in an ambush in Sri Lanka. But were her death a statistically random event it would not have produced three books, a documentary and now *A Private War,* with Rosamund Pike starring as the driven, tortured reporter.

The movie, directed by Matthew Heineman and based on a *Vanity Fair* profile, opens and closes by drifting dreamily over the pancaked cityscape where Colvin did her final work. After being smuggled into the Bab Amr neighborhood, where 28,000 civilians were dying under the kind of shelling associated with Stalingrad, she filed first to her paper. Then she streamed a series of live TV interviews that placed before the world footage of a 2-year-old boy dying on a tabletop.

That alone would have made Colvin's own death a billboard for essential journalism. But evidence has emerged that the Syrian government, incensed at seeing its antiseptic version of the siege contradicted by Colvin's reports, set out to kill her. In a 2016 television interview, Syrian President Bashar Assad said Colvin got what she deserved.

The movie elides this point, preoccupied as it is with why Colvin was there in the first place. The private war of the title is between the Long Island native and her demons, including vodka, posttraumatic stress and whatever emptiness drove her forever into the field. Pike turns out to be better at addressing the question than the sometimes preachy screenplay: the actor nearly inhabits Colvin, working inward from the frizzed hair, cigarettes and La Perla underwear. She finds the layers of wry humor, brittle ambition and visceral restlessness that produced, in turn, strained friendships, accolades and episodes of sloppy drunkenness.

IF WAR REPORTERS feel at home anywhere, it's in a hotel where the only guests are other war reporters. (Years ago I met Colvin when she stepped in front of me to take the last room in one.) Those days wind down in the camaraderie of a meal shared by a clan that gathers in places normal people are trying to leave.

But there's also a despondency in being a foreign correspondent, the isolation waiting in the room upstairs, in competition, or in transit as opposed to travel. As Anthony Shadid, the New York *Times* journalist who died in Syria a few days before Colvin, once wrote: "I was a suitcase and a laptop drifting on a conveyor belt."

Pike's Colvin moves in that zone, the crowded emptiness that can be filled at least part of the time by the ideals that informed her career: the work felt essential because, in the world beyond a damaged self, it truly was. Colvin focused relentlessly on the civilians caught in conflict, and *A Private War* does too. The film caroms from Iraq to Sri Lanka, to Libya to Syria, with flashbacks to the searing horrors that lurk in Colvin's mind—the things you can't unsee.

It's rare for Hollywood to capture the developing world. An exception, like Fernando Meirelles' *The Constant Gardener,* marries the lushness of a feature with the vivid authenticity of a documentary to realize something that surpasses both. Heineman has made a lot of docs, which may be why in his feature debut the scenes of deepest emotion—the jagged weeping of Kurdish widows, the Syrian father standing over the body of his child—feel as real as Pike does, playing a woman who gave her life bearing witness. ◻

REVIEW

Unexpected lessons from the legends

Peeks inside the minds of geniuses—athletic or otherwise—are always worth our time. *In Search of Greatness,* a documentary hitting theaters on Nov. 2, features interviews with three of the best ever—hockey superstar Wayne Gretzky, wide receiver Jerry Rice and soccer legend Pelé—who share the secrets of their success. (The film also explores the excellence of Serena Williams and Muhammad Ali.) Rice, for example, talks about seeing the football slow down in midair, which is nice but may not come as news for sports followers. Many athletes recall similar sensations while they're "in the zone."

Thankfully, the film explores a more pressing issue: how hyperorganized youth sports can be counterproductive for our children. Studies show that kids who play in unstructured environments, on their own, are more likely to thrive down the road. And parents, another tip from the film: Gretzky's dad instructed him to practice stickwork with a tennis ball, figuring that if he could control a bouncy ball on the ice, handling a puck should be a cinch. Genius.

—Sean Gregory

A PRIVATE WAR: AVIRON PICTURES; WILLIAMS: GETTY IMAGES; THE FRONT RUNNER: SONY PICTURES

REVIEW

The Front Runner is a winner

By Stephanie Zacharek

NEARLY 30 YEARS BEFORE THE *ACCESS Hollywood* tape revealed Donald Trump's crass misogyny, only to be met with a resounding "So what?" by much of the public, an articulate and serious-minded presidential candidate was forced out of the 1988 race over his suspected marital infidelity. The accompanying visual was striking: a photograph of a former Senator from Colorado, Gary Hart, sitting on a dock in Bimini, with a woman in a white dress—a sometime pharmaceutical rep and actor named Donna Rice—perched on his knee.

That photo emerged more than two weeks after Hart left the race. The truly destructive force had swept through earlier: political reporters from several major newspapers dogged Hart with questions about his "womanizing," feeling it was their duty to uncover every detail of his personal life. The last weeks and days of Hart's campaign are the subject of Jason Reitman's astute and painfully relevant political comedy *The Front Runner,* adapted from Matt Bai's book *All the Truth Is Out: The Week Politics Went Tabloid,* and starring Hugh Jackman as the ill-fated Hart. If Hart's private life held some not-ready-for-prime-time secrets, the behavior of the press covering him was arguably worse: in the movie's centerpiece, a duo of Miami *Herald* reporters (Steve Zissis and Bill Burr) stake out Hart's Washington townhouse, hoping to uncover dirt, later confronting him in the house's alleyway. Hart stands his ground—Jackman is terrific, channeling Henry Fonda in John Ford's *Young Mr. Lincoln*—but he can't survive the onslaught.

'The movie's not telling you anything ... it's actually asking your view: What is important to you?'

HUGH JACKMAN, in the *Hollywood Reporter*

The scenes between Hart and his wife Lee (played with no-nonsense fortitude by Vera Farmiga) are among the film's best, exploring what can happen when the private dynamics of a marriage fall under public scrutiny. (The Harts, incidentally, are still married.) Hart's story marked a shift in the way the press scrutinizes the personal lives of political figures—though as we've seen, unethical behavior doesn't always work against politicians, or even Presidents. Whether you've been following politics for three years or 30, you'll learn something from *The Front Runner*—but buckle up, because it's gonna hurt. ◻

Jackman as Gary Hart: Should a politician's private life be tabloid fodder?

The band, fronted by Mercury (Malek), takes the stage at Live Aid

MOVIES

A killer Queen emerges in *Rhapsody*

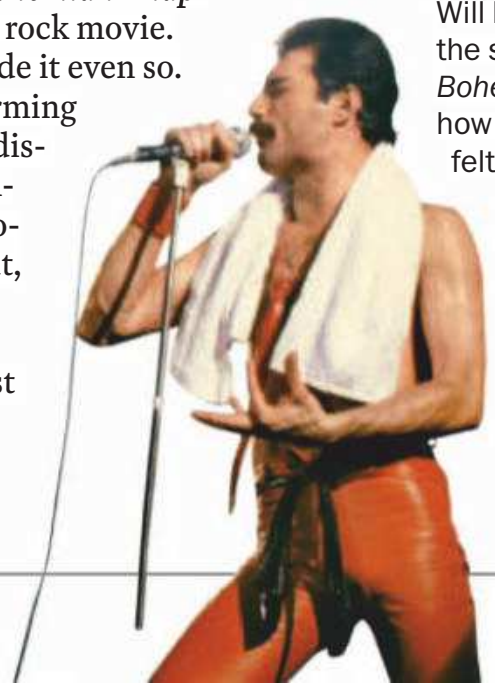
By Stephanie Zacharek

MOVIES ABOUT ROCK STARS ARE LIKE movies about religious figures: there's always someone around to say, "That's not the Jesus *I* know!" Is *Bohemian Rhapsody* an accurate portrayal of Freddie Mercury, the extravagantly charismatic lead singer of Queen who died, in 1991, of AIDS-related pneumonia? Does it do justice to his legacy? Does it depict his sexuality in a way that's acceptable to all?

Who's qualified to say? *Bohemian Rhapsody* has some problems—it hits every beat of disaster and triumph squarely, like a gong. But it still has a great, ragged energy, thanks to Rami Malek's performance as Mercury, all glitter and muscle and nerve endings. This is a movie about music, fame, tragedy, love and the sliver-thin distinction between confidence and hubris. There are also cats, floaty kimonos and leather jackets. It's a movie for sensualists, not quality-control experts: you know who you are.

Before Freddie Mercury was Freddie Mercury, he was Farrokh "Freddie" Bulsara, born in Zanzibar of Parsi descent. *Bohemian Rhapsody,* which opens in London in the early 1970s, shows how young Farrokh worked that transformation, with a lot of attitude and some sparkly women's clothes. He falls deeply in love with a woman, Mary Austin (played, with charm and vigor, by Lucy Boynton). And he insinuates himself into a band—alongside guitarist Brian May and drummer Roger Taylor (Gwilym Lee and Ben Hardy)—that will soon become Queen, international hitmakers.

Somewhere between those early days and the movie's dazzling finale, a re-enactment of the band's 1985 Live Aid performance, Mercury changed his look, trimming his hair short and growing the neatly molded mustache that would become his signature. He also came to acknowledge that he was gay, a transition Malek navigates not gracefully but realistically, like an astronaut re-entering Earth's atmosphere and finding the ride so bumpy he barely survives it. (The production hit bumps too: the credited director Bryan Singer, who has been the subject of multiple sexual-assault allegations, was replaced by Dexter Fletcher during filming.) In some ways, *Bohemian Rhapsody* is too facile for a rock movie. But there's a soul inside it even so. Malek's eyes are disarming to the point of being disorienting, like the pinwheels used by hypnotists. His onstage strut, brazen as a panther's, shows us that being Freddie Mercury must have been great. But his gaze reveals that it also couldn't have been easy. ◻



Mercury had an unusually fast vibrato

MOVIES

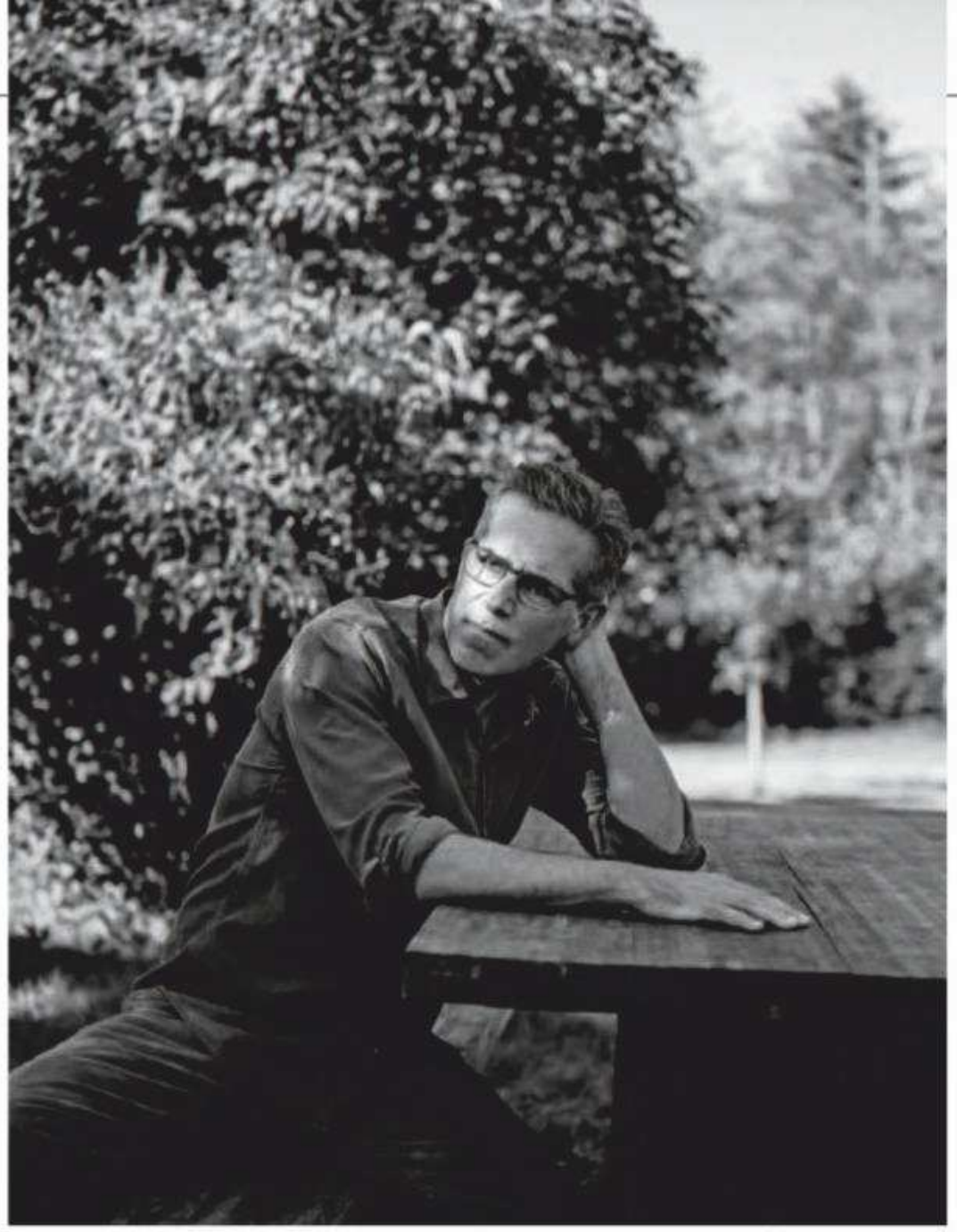
Queer icon gets his due

Earlier this year, the first trailer for *Bohemian Rhapsody* left out Mercury's battle with AIDS, leading some to predict that the film would "straight-wash" his queer life. Fortunately it doesn't do that—even if it does cover his colorful experiences more tamely than some fans might like. Compressing Mercury's multitudinous sexuality—his style running the gamut from femme to butch, the fact that he reportedly preferred sex with men though his most enduring relationship was with a woman—into the Hollywood-biopic template proves too difficult to do without concessions. Screenwriter Anthony McCarten ends up tinkering with the timeline for dramatic effect: the film portrays his diagnosis with AIDS as occurring in 1985, in the days leading up to Live Aid, though Mercury reportedly was actually diagnosed in '87.

Yet there's the distinct feeling that you're watching LGBTQ history here, and for underrepresented queer audiences, it may be enough to see Mercury cruising guys at truck stops and visiting red-lit gay bars. It's a movie that will, at the very least, make it impossible for its viewers to conveniently ignore the real, queer experience behind "We Will Rock You" as it blares from the speakers in sports arenas. *Bohemian Rhapsody* explores how the otherness Mercury felt as a queer and Parsi man positioned him as a champion for outcasts. But like Queen's music, this movie was built for the masses.

—Rich Juzwiak

BOHEMIAN RHAPSODY: 20TH CENTURY FOX; MERCURY: GETTY IMAGES; LETHEM: BENEDICT EVANS/AUGUST



PROFILE

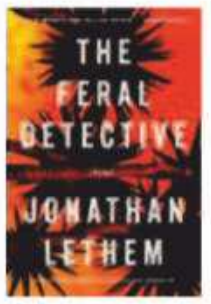
A desert gumshoe

By Karl Vick

JONATHAN LETHEM IS A BIG FAN OF RAYMOND Chandler's, so it's not by chance that his new novel, *The Feral Detective,* begins where Chandler's *The Big Sleep* leaves off, about 40 miles east of Los Angeles, on the section of old Route 66 called Foothill Boulevard. It no longer looks like it did when Philip Marlowe flirted with death outside a shady garage in the rain. But Lethem found himself called back to what he calls "the cradle of my prose" when he wrote the introduction to a wonderful recent volume, *The Annotated Big Sleep.* "How I learned to write sentences was in that sardonic, disappointed, romantic, first-person, hard-boiled voice," he says.

It's the same voice that narrates Lethem's 11th novel, a return to the genre that animated his first books and the 1999 breakout *Motherless Brooklyn,* though he's not known for being predictable. His 2005 MacArthur Fellowship cited "narratives that explore the relationship between high art and popular culture." He recently reworked Allen Ginsburg's *Howl* in the language of Charles Schulz's *Peanuts.*

The Feral Detective begins, as detective stories so often do, with an attractive woman bringing a missing-persons case into the shabby office of a private eye. The (quite winning) conceit of the novel is that the client, not the detective, is its protagonist:



Lethem returns to detective fiction two decades after his hit Motherless Brooklyn

Phoebe Siegler is the jaded one here, wisecracking while trying to remain true to her personal code in a mixed-up world. The detective, Charles Heist, is a cipher with an ailing possum in his desk drawer and a child seeking refuge in his closet. Heist proves handy as a romantic interest, as well as for his deep knowledge of the Mojave Desert subcultures into which the missing girl has disappeared—a utopian community that devolved into warring tribes, women against men.

That's the plot. The mystery: How bad can things get? It's the question Lethem found himself entertaining after the 2016 election, which kicks off the book. He had assumed a detective novel about gender roles would be "a really good book to write during the Hillary Clinton Administration." Upon reflection, he recognized the enveloping darkness—his view of the Trump era—as noir.

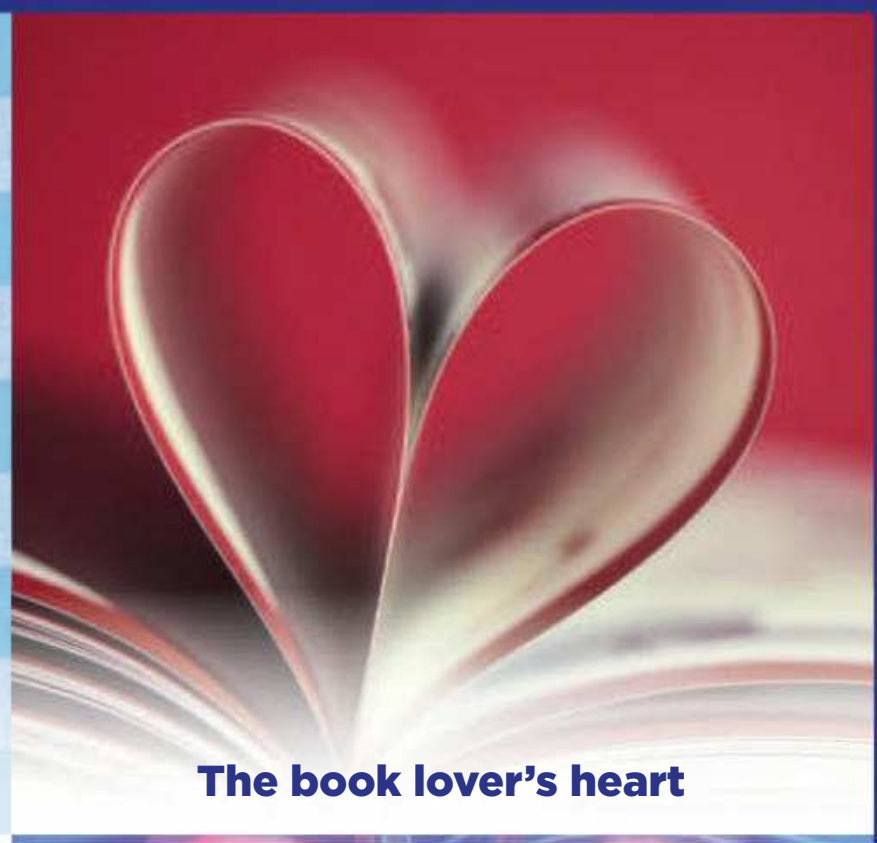
"What happens to the impulse to preserve a masculine reality?" Lethem asks. He wanted to interrogate, in the book as in the world, the shape that male identity takes when it loses dominance. What he found was not encouraging. "It didn't turn out to be a Robert Bly drumming circle. It turned into Pepe the Frog and all this horrible, horrible online sh-t."

LETHEM HAS OBSERVED that the rhythms of detective fiction are set as firmly as those of the sonnet. His first book, *Gun, With Occasional Music,* riffed on Chandler too, and *Motherless Brooklyn* featured a detective with Tourette's syndrome in the New York City borough where Lethem was himself raised in a commune, albeit the brownstone kind, with a political-activist mother and an avant-garde painter dad. That milieu informed 2013's *Dissident Gardens,* a reflection on American leftism.

"Actually, if you look at Heist," Lethem says of his new detective character, "he is me. He's the oldest you can be and still be hippie-raised." A Californian now, Lethem teaches at Pomona College, itself "a stone's throw" from Foothill Boulevard. He savors the settings that have inspired not only him but also fellow hard-boiled crime-fiction writers like Ross Macdonald, who conjures, he says, "really accurate descriptions of the strangeness of the civilization that's been kind of laid like a veneer over this desert."

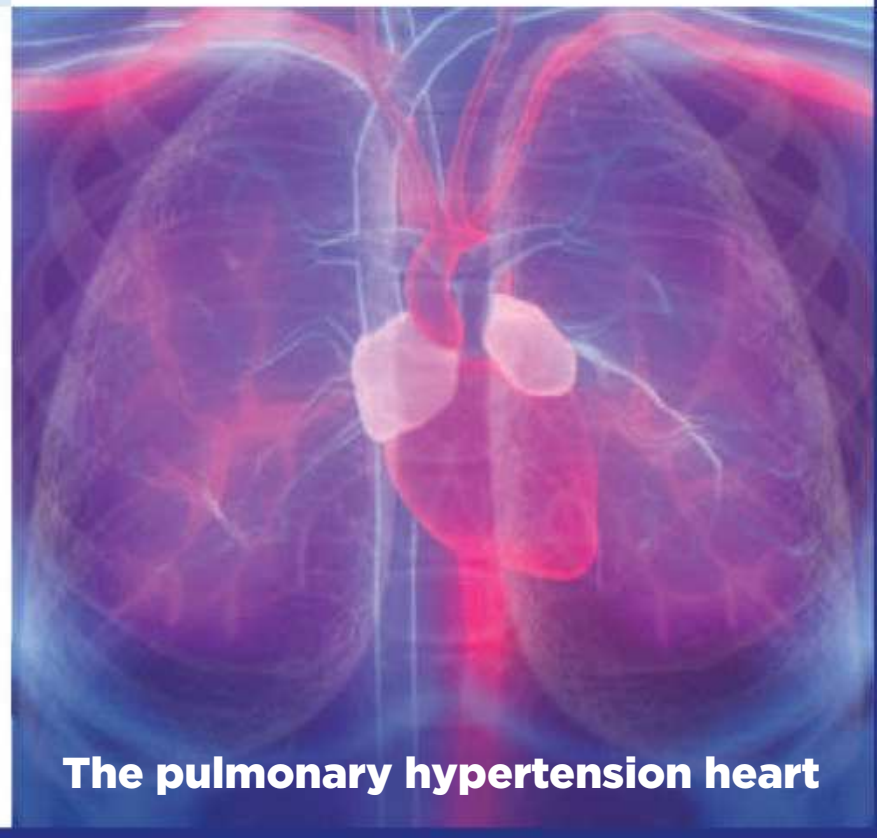
Lethem calls the Mojave "fabulous" and "desolate," but says you don't come out of it with any illusions. The client in *The Feral Detective* certainly doesn't. "What Phoebe uncovers for herself—to the extent that there's political implication in it—is that the more things change, the harder they are to change back," he says. He sees that in the sobering landscape of 2018 as he looks ahead to the midterm elections, which fall on the same day *The Feral Detective* will be released. Like Phoebe, we'll have to work through the mess we're in. Or, as Lethem puts it: "We're not going to just vote our way out of it." □

The food lover's heart



The book lover's heart

The lover's heart



The pulmonary hypertension heart

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RECOMMENDATIONS

Novel November reads

By Annabel Gutterman

FOR THOSE SEEKING RELIEF FROM THE POLITICAL FRENZY THAT IS A MIDTERM November, look no further than a bookshelf full of escapist new reads covering everything from murderous sisters to creepy resorts and the science of dreaming.

NINE PERFECT STRANGERS

Liane Moriarty

The latest guests to check into **a hip wellness retreat destination** have no idea what they're in for. *Big Little Lies* author Moriarty is back with another page-turner, swapping a dramatic school fundraiser for a luxury health resort that might change the course of nine strangers' lives.

WHY WE DREAM

Alice Robb

If you've ever wondered about the meaning of a dream—from the seemingly random to the scarily lifelike—journalist Robb's *Why We Dream* will provide some insight. Robb dives into the theories surrounding **what happens while we're asleep,** investigating how dreams relate to our reality.

COME WITH ME

Helen Schulman

Amy Reed plays with her past, present and future by experimenting with a cutting-edge virtual-reality service in Silicon Valley. Schulman, the best-selling author of *This Beautiful Life,* tackles fate, love and **the ever-growing influence of technology** on our lives by asking, "What if?"

EVENING IN PARADISE

Lucia Berlin

Berlin rose to critical acclaim after a collection of her short stories, *A Manual for Cleaning Women,* was released in 2015—more than a decade after her death. Twenty-two of her remaining stories have been arranged posthumously once again, and these selections delve into **family, death and addiction.**

THE END OF THE END OF THE EARTH

Jonathan Franzen

In this book of essays and speeches, the literary heavyweight writes about his relationship with the world, ranging from the personal to the political. He's as insightful in his reflections on being a young person in New York as he is in his thoughts on **the necessity of birds** for our ecosystem's survival.

THE LONESOME BODYBUILDER

Yukiko Motoya

Prize-winning Japanese author Motoya offers a collection of 11 stories that fuse the banality of the everyday with **dreamlike elements of fantasy.** Motoya explores marriage, gender and power through stories that begin with real life—the titular story is about a woman who decides to become a bodybuilder—and slowly turn surreal.

CLARA MOKRI FOR TIME

MY SISTER, THE SERIAL KILLER

Oyinkan Braithwaite

In her buzzy debut, Braithwaite tests the bond of sisterhood in a dark yet funny examination of violence, loyalty and family. Upon learning that **her sister has killed a third boyfriend,** protagonist Korede works to thwart any growing suspicion toward their family—until she discovers her sister's next potential victim is the doctor for whom she's been harboring feelings.

8 Questions

Claire Foy After earning an Emmy for *The Crown* and Oscar buzz for *First Man,* the actor dons a dragon tattoo for *The Girl in the Spider's Web*

Lisbeth Salander, the punk hacker you play in *The Girl in the Spider's Web,* is Queen Elizabeth II's polar opposite. Did you intentionally take on something totally different after *The Crown*? I have always tried to take on new roles in each step of my career, and Lisbeth is a rare character. Normally the protagonist is someone people instantly love. Lisbeth holds no store in what people think of her. If anything, she sees people liking her as a dangerous thing.

What did you think of the character when you first encountered her in Stieg Larsson's *Millennium* series? She's quite revolutionary—not because of the piercings or tattoos. She's a person who knew she wasn't going to get justice within the system because there was no room for her in that world. But she could get her own type of justice. I had never read about a woman who acted in that way.

Lisbeth emerged in 2005, when the first of the series' five books was published, as a vigilante who punishes men who hurt women. Do you think #MeToo will change how people perceive her? I have heard #MeToo stories for a long time. It's just that now they're finally being reported on and discussed openly. To me, Lisbeth has always been a relevant character.

The one thing Lisbeth and Queen Elizabeth II have in common is that they both suppress their emotions. How do you prepare for scenes like that? In our everyday lives, we say one thing and we're thinking another. We're not honest with ourselves or other people the majority of the time. So acting is just a basic exercise in trying to be alive. Showing emotion, that's not acting, really. You want the audience to interpret what the character is thinking or feeling.

How do you accomplish that? Acting isn't about what I'm doing. It's about listening. What is the other person saying? Is my character moved to speak? If they do say something, why do they say it? I lean heavily on my fellow actors, and I'm very lucky to be on set with talented people. I would be terrible at delivering monologues, I think.

"SHE COULD GET HER OWN TYPE OF JUSTICE. I HAD NEVER READ ABOUT A WOMAN WHO ACTED IN THAT WAY"

CHARLEY GALLAY—GETTY IMAGES

In *First Man,* you play Neil Armstrong's wife Janet, who does a lot of the emotional labor for a husband who represses his feelings. How did you understand that relationship? In our story, Neil ran away to stop himself from hurting, which is a very human thing to do. Janet was strong enough to take that burden for the both of them. She had lost her child, she lived in a reality where her husband could die at any moment, and she knew that she had to face it, confront it and then move on. She had to keep everything running, keep Neil running, keep the image up.

The royal family also goes to great lengths to project a particular image. Did playing the Queen give you any perspective on their public face? Early in Elizabeth's reign, the family was held up as perfect leaders of the Church of England. They were beyond reproach. Within a decade, in the 1960s, that had completely turned on its head. Media changes so quickly. And they just live and die by public opinion. Although it seems they're a very privileged institution, the British public and the press are constantly holding them to account.

Have you seen a difference in American and British reactions to the show? No, not particularly. I was quite overwhelmed by the diversity of the people who watched it and responded to it. That was true for Lisbeth too. She's not the normal image that we're fed of what it means to be successful, to be a certain age, to be living in a certain world.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

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